A HISTORY OF INDIA

UNDER

THE TWO FIRST SOVEREIGNS

OF

THE HOUSE OF TAIMUR,

BÁBER AND HUMÁYUN.

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TRANSLATOR OF "MEMOIRS OF THE EMPEROR BÁBER."

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NOTICE.

The work now published occupied the attention of the late Mr. Erskine, as he mentions, through many years, being pursued with that carefulness and deliberation, with that anxiety to be accurate, which characterised all his literary labours: the object he had thus perseveringly in view is sufficiently explained in the following preface, which he himself prepared,—that of constructing the history of some of the most important periods in the annals of India on a wider and more comprehensive basis than the sole authority of the compilation of Ferishta, to which, almost exclusively, European writers had hitherto had recourse. That more ample materials existed for the elucidation of Indian history in all its stages,—materials even more abundant than those employed by Ferishta,—Mr. Erskine's studies made him fully aware; and his thorough acquaintance with the language of the authorities that were available enabled him to derive from them all the information they were calculated to afford. The consequence has been the present authentic record of an interesting and important period of Indian history.

The design of Mr. Erskine originally contemplated the whole of the reigns of the princes of the dynasty of Taimur in India, from the accession of Báber to the end of the sovereignty of Aurungzíb, including the previous occurrences of the life of Báber, and a general account of the Tartar tribes of Transoxiana. Ample materials had been collected by him and translated for this purpose, but he had found time only for the completion of the first portion of his task, — the lives of Báber and Humáyun,—the latter including a history of Shír Shah and the Pattan princes by whom Humáyun was, for a season, driven from his throne. The life of Báber has been in some degree anticipated by Mr. Erskine himself, in his valuable translation of that prince's autobiography; but in the present work we have the testimony of contemporary and subsequent authorities in addition to his own, and especially that of the great historian of the Mongol races, Haider Mírza, the author of the Tarìkh-e-Reshídi — a work which Mr. Erskine recommends strongly for translation and publication. Other authentic writers are also now for the first time made to contribute to the elucidation of the reigns of Báber and his son; and we may consider this portion of the Mohammedan government of India as fully and finally elucidated.

AUTHOR'S PREFACE.

When there are already so many histories of India in the English language, it may reasonably be asked, why an attempt should be made to add another to the number.

The idea of the following work suggested itself many years ago, from observing on how limited a foundation most of our general histories of India were raised, the brief but judicious abridgment of Ferishta forming, in truth, the basis of them all. It seemed to me that a nation possessing such an empire as that of the British in India ought to have some ampler record of the transactions of the different dynasties which preceded their own in that country. The most natural and effectual means of supplying this want would certainly be a general edition of the historians of India, — a Corpus Scriptorum Historiæ Indicæ. But the least reflection shows that the necessary extent of such a work, joined to the very small number of readers, whether native or European, who call for, or are likely to avail themselves of it, if completed, makes it an undertaking, useful and desirable as it may be, that must be postponed to a distant period. Indeed, the ardour of British enterprise has not achieved such a collection even of the historians of our native land.

The various Histories of India that have been pub-

lished have been written with various objects. The volumes of Mill, as might be expected from any production of a man of his talents, are full of valuable materials, and, in spite of the disadvantage of being devoted to a particular system, evince an extraordinary union of acuteness, industry and ingenuity. But his narrative of early events is brief, and hurried over with rapidity. The later productions of different able writers, however useful, and however well adapted to their object as popular compilations, have added little to the amount of what was previously known.*

The History of India by the Honourable Mountstuart Elphinstone is indeed a work of a very different and much higher class. The rapid sketch of the early and Hindú state of India, contained in the first volume, exhibits such a concentration of a vast mass of reading and observation into a small compass, enriched by a perfect personal knowledge of the present state of the country, its inhabitants, and their habits of thought, as is hardly to be equalled in the whole range of literature. Nor are the views of the genius, character and government of the Musulmans in the subsequent part of the work, and the characters of the different agents who appear upon the stage, touched with a less masterly hand. With a rare union of wide research, profound reflection, and pregnant brevity, we everywhere mark the impress of the statesman, the moralist and the scholar. It will probably long continue to be the classical history to introduce the inquirer of every de-

* It is hardly necessary to remark that the works of Professor Wilson and Sir Henry Elliot had not appeared when this was written.

nomination to a correct knowledge of India. Had the narrative of the transactions of the princes of the House of Taimur, much of which is drawn from new and original sources, been as minute as it is faithful and interesting, the present work would never have seen the light. And yet, perhaps, the extent of narrative which it contains, is as much as the great majority of European readers may require or endure.

The object of the following pages is far more humble. It is to furnish, from a comparison of as many of the original historians of India as were accessible to the author, such a narrative of public events during the reigns of the first six Emperors of the House of Taimur, from Báber to Aurengzíb, as might be at once more minute and more authentic than, so far as the author knows, has yet appeared in any European language. During the two first of these reigns, — those of Báber and Humáyun, — there is rather a want of continuous contemporary authorities: and the desire to supply, as far as possible, the deficiencies of the ordinary histories may, by many, be thought to have led to the opposite extreme of too great detail, in the narrative now given of these reigns. For the four last reigns the materials are abundant, even to superfluity, so that there is less temptation to fall into such an error.

The period, commencing with the invasion of Báber, and ending with the death of Aurengzíb, was chosen as containing a very memorable portion of Indian history. The preceding periods are less perfectly known. The period that follows presents to our view the decline, and, in the end, the breaking-up of the Empire. A

history of the period between these two,—that of the earlier princes of the House of Taimur, containing their original entrance into the country, and the gradual progress of their arms, till the empire reached its entire and most flourishing state,—seemed to form a natural foundation for the modern history of India, when those later contests with Europeans began, which have changed the whole face of things. The early transactions of the Portuguese and Dutch affected only the outskirts of the empire; those with the French and English, during the last century, affected its very centre, and, in their results, have shaken it to pieces. The materials for the history of the two first periods are still chiefly contained in the languages of the East, while those of the last may be best drawn from the relations and State papers of Europeans.

The author has indulged sparingly in any reflections on events, being rather desirous, by giving a faithful statement of facts, to let them speak for themselves.

The volumes now offered to the public contain the reigns of Báber and Humáyun. The whole life of the former was spent in camps. It was a period of transition, when the Government had not yet subsided into a regular form. Little progress towards settled institutions was made in the unquiet reign of his son. It was not till the time of Akber that a regular attempt was made to reduce to a system some portion of the rules and customs of the country, and to combine them by the principles of a just and impartial legislation. Even that great and enlightened prince had, however, many difficulties, religious and political, to encounter;

and as he was, in some instances, too much in advance of his age, and in others perhaps too fantastical, and had, besides, the misfortune to have a successor whose views differed from his own, many of his regulations died with himself.

To some readers the account of the Tartars of the Kipchák and of Moghulistán, contained in the Introduction, may seem to be too extended. But these tribes had great influence on the fortune of the founder of what has been called the Moghul Empire; and, without a considerable knowledge of their circumstances and transactions, much of the earlier portion of the history would be obscure.

The greater part of the volumes now published was written several years ago,—a circumstance which it may be necessary to mention, in order to explain why, in the course of the narrative, so little allusion is made to late events, such as those that have recently occurred in Afghanistán, or to the works of later writers.

As to the orthography of oriental words, that of Sir William Jones has in general been adopted. *K* has however been substituted for the hard *c; g* is used hard before all vowels, as in *gust; j* is soft, as in *just; ch* is used as in *chance; sh*, as in *ship*. Little distinction has been made of the letters peculiar to eastern alphabets; though *Kh* has been generally used for the Arab *khe*, as in *Khan*; and *gh* for the *ghain*, as in *Gházi*. The accent is often applied to mark a vowel as being long in a word, especially the first time it is used.

The author ought not to conclude without making his acknowledgments to John Romer, Esq., for the use

of a manuscript of the Tabakát-i-Akberi in his collection: and to Horace Hayman Wilson, Esq., for that of the Taríkh-e-Reshídi, from which so much has been drawn. For an opportunity of consulting the Kholáset-ul-towáríkh, he was indebted to the kindness of the late Major William Yule. The other manuscripts quoted are chiefly in the possession of the author.

Bonn, May 28. 1845.

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HISTORY OF INDIA.

PRELIMINARY REMARKS.

INDIAN HISTORY.—ITS THREE PERIODS.—REMARKABLE ERA WHEN THE KINGDOMS OF EUROPE AND ASIA ASSUMED A MORE REGULAR AND PERMANENT FORM.

It is the object of the following pages to present to the reader a History of the House of Taimur in India, but especially to give in some detail the history of the reigns of the first six princes of that race, from the invasion of Báber to the death of Aurengzíb, including a period of nearly two centuries.

The history of Northern India may be divided into three great periods. The *first* extends from the earliest times to the invasion of Sultan Mahmúd of Ghazni, in the beginning of the eleventh century, and may be called "The Hindú Period." The *second* reaches from that event to the invasion and conquest of Hindustan by Báber, in the beginning of the sixteenth century, a space of rather more than five hundred years, and may be denominated "The Early Muhammedan Period." It includes the conquests and ascendancy of the monarchs of Ghazni, and of various other Tartar and Afghan dynasties in India. The *third* period extends from the conquest of Báber to the present times, and exhibits to our view the sovereignty of "The House of Taimur," who have held the real or nominal power in India for the last three hundred years.

History of India.

Its three periods.

It is not intended in the present work to touch in any degree on the two first of these periods. Of the first indeed, interesting and curious as in many respects it is, very little is known, and that little but imperfectly. With the events of the second we are better acquainted, many native historians, some of them contemporary, having related with sufficient distinctness, if not the civil, at least the most important of the military occurrences of the times; and the valuable histories of Mr. Elphinstone and others have recently made the European reader acquainted with what is most worthy of notice in both of these periods. The history of much of the third period has never been written in any European language in detail; and yet a considerable acquaintance with it is perhaps necessary to such as would thoroughly understand the present state of India.

Remarkable era.

It commences about thirty years after the discovery of the passage to that country by the Cape of Good Hope, at a remarkable era in the history of Man, when the governments of a great proportion of the various kingdoms both of Europe and of Asia, after numerous changes, began to settle down into that more permanent form which, on the whole, they have ever since retained, in spite of the conquests and revolutions to which many of them have been subjected.

In Europe. Its States settle into a system.

In Europe the close of the fifteenth and beginning of the sixteenth centuries were marked by many striking events. Before that time most of the kingdoms of which it was composed, while acknowledging a king or supreme head, had been broken into a variety of independent or nearly independent states. Each country was occupied with its own internal concerns. There was no general system or balance of power among the kingdoms of Christendom, which might lead each to watch the events passing in the other as influencing itself. Each country was a separate system. Spain was

divided into a number of different kingdoms acknowledging no supreme head. In France, the grand vassals or feudatories of the Crown held dominions that made them formidable to their sovereign, with whom they often waged war, and their dependence was in general little more than nominal. In England the Great Barons often controlled the King, and combated him in arms. But about the time in question, the various kingdoms in Spain, by conquest or by marriage, were united under one head; and the Moors who had long held the greater portion of the country were expelled. In France, the English having been expelled, the grand fiefs were gradually united to the Crown, and the whole of that powerful country was placed under the same head. In England, the long civil wars between the Houses of York and Lancaster had broken the power of the Great Barons; and the policy of Henry the Seventh, and of the princes of the House of Tudor, who took advantage of the depressed state of the Aristocracy, united the whole active force of the kingdom in the hands of the Crown. The spirit of war, of ambition or intrigue, that formerly (if we except the invasions of Italy by the German Emperors) had wasted itself in internal commotions in each separate kingdom, in bringing one portion of it to act against the other, in civil broils, or in private wars, now that the power of the community was consolidated in a single hand, and that each country enjoyed internal repose, took another direction, and sought for employment on a larger field and in transactions with foreign countries. Instead of a congeries of nearly independent systems scarcely acting on each other, Europe now presented one large system; and Christendom became to them all that sphere of action, which each had formerly been to itself.

This result was accelerated by the accident which, at this important crisis, placed in the hands of Charles

the Fifth dominions more extensive than had for centuries been held by any one prince. The Netherlands and Dutch provinces, Austria, the entire kingdom of Spain, with its rich and extensive American possessions, Sicily, and a great portion of Italy, fell to him by hereditary descent; in addition to which he was early in life elected Emperor of Germany. The accumulation of territories so vast upon one head naturally excited the jealousy and alarm of the neighbouring Kings and States. This terror almost inevitably led to the idea, as it was the surest support, of the balance of power in Europe, which then began to be acted upon, and has influenced the conduct of its governments ever since, though sometimes with great deviations, occasioned by the blindness or the passions of its princes or people.

Great mental activity.

Various other causes excited and kept alive the mental activity for which this period was remarkable. The spirit of adventure which had led to the discovery of America, and of the route to India by the Cape of Good Hope, a spirit which in its turn was fostered by these discoveries that seemed to enlarge the powers of man, by offering new worlds for their exertion; the revival of ancient learning, in some degree hastened on by the taking of Constantinople by the Turks, an event that scattered many learned Greeks over the West, where their lessons were received with eagerness by men whose minds had already been awakened to a love of knowledge, and were prepared to receive them: the recent contemporaneous invention and active use of the Art of Printing, which secured and diffused all manner of knowledge, bringing it down to a lower class of society than it had yet reached, and gradually wresting it from the exclusive possession of monks and ecclesiastics, who for ages had been nearly its sole depositories; an invention which ere long, though it did not produce, secured the success of, the Reforma-

tion of Religion, and with that the stability and progress of all human knowledge; these and other events must make the period in question for ever memorable. From that time downwards, an understood Balance of Power existed among the States of Europe, and no considerable permanent enlargement or diminution of territory took place, till the ill-omened Partition of Poland, a flagrant act of injustice, which could have been accomplished only in a country whose political constitution was so irreclaimably bad, joined to the accident of that country lying in the outskirts of the European Commonwealth, where it was difficult for the forces of the Western Powers to act; and perhaps to the uncommon portion of sluggish and inert indifference which at that moment possessed the leading cabinets of Europe. But for about 300 years, each of the nations of the West, in spite of numerous wars and negotiations, continued to retain very nearly the same extent of dominion: an understood system of international law preserved the existence and, in some degree, the rights even of the weakest.

Permanence of its States.

Something of the same kind happened in Asia, though to a different extent. The immense conquests, first of Chengíz Khan, and next of Amír Taimur, achieved by the Tartars whom they led from the North, were gradually broken down into a variety of smaller states that carried on wars among themselves, conquering or conquered by each other. It was not till the beginning of the sixteenth century, that the fermentation and change of form of its various kingdoms subsided in the East, much in the same way as had occurred in Europe.

In Asia. Permanent kingdoms formed.

The Ottoman sultans had long been extending their dominions with fearful rapidity; and, in the beginning of the sixteenth century, added Egypt and some other provinces to their empire. About this period, however, the farther progress of their arms was nearly checked, by the consolidation of the power of their neighbours,

both on the side of Europe and of Asia. Shah Ismáel, the founder of the Sefvi dynasty, having subdued all the smaller potentates of Irák, Azerbáiján and Fárs, and conquered Khorásán, extended the Persian empire nearly to the limits which still bound it. The last great northern invasion was that of the Uzbek tribes, who expelled the descendants of Taimur from Transoxiana, and settled in that country, which they continue to hold to the present day. Báber, a prince, as he himself tells us, "born on the very farthest limits of the civilised world," being expelled from his hereditary dominions by this irruption and settlement, made himself master of Kábul and Kandahár, which had previously belonged to another branch of the family; and finally extended his conquests into India, which has remained, down to our own times, the real or nominal kingdom of his posterity.

These changes in Asia were nearly contemporary with those which have been mentioned as taking place in Europe; and, as the political system then introduced into Europe long suffered little alteration, the Musulman countries of the East, Turkey, Persia, Uzbekistán, and India, suffered no great change for centuries; except from the extended conquests of the Emperor of India to the south, which did not immediately affect his western neighbours; and at a later period from the conquests of Náder Shah, as transient as they were alarming. Kábul long remained attached to the Empire of India, as well as Kandahár, which last, however, was occasionally the battle-ground between the monarchs of Persia and Hindustan.

Conquest of India by the Tartars.

As the conquest of India in the sixteenth century was accomplished by Báber, himself a Tartar, by means of his Tartar chiefs and followers, and as the whole of the earlier part of his life was spent among tribes of that race, and many of the institutions of his later life affected by theirs, it is necessary, before proceeding to

narrate the incidents of his reign, to offer some observations on the original condition and subsequent fortunes of these sons of the desert; and especially to give a short sketch of the previous history of the two great tribes of Moghuls and Uzbeks, who chiefly influenced his fortunes in peace and in war, that the reader may be the better able to understand the transactions of Báber himself, and his immediate successors, as well as to comprehend the peculiar spirit and principles of their government.

INTRODUCTION.

CONTAINING A GENERAL ACCOUNT OF THE TARTARS, ESPECIALLY OF THE JÚJI AND CHAGHATÁI DYNASTIES; AND OF THE STATE OF TRANSOXIANA AT THE ACCESSION OF BÁBER.

SECTION FIRST.

GENERAL ACCOUNT OF THE TARTAR TRIBES — THREE GRAND DIVISIONS, MANCHÚS, MONGOLS OR MOGHULS, AND TÚRKS. — CONQUESTS OF CHENGÍZ KHAN AND THE MOGHULS. — OF THE TÚRKI TRIBES AND TAIMUR. — DIFFERENCE RESULTING FROM THE MODE OF SETTLEMENT OF THE TARTARS IN TRIBES OR AS INDIVIDUALS.

SECT. I.

Tartar Tribes.

THE countries in the south of Asia as well as of Europe have, from the remotest ages, been subject to invasions from the north, the migratory inhabitants of which, pouring forward their hordes or tribes from their native wilds, have in some instances laid waste many of the most extensive of these more genial and favoured regions, and then disappeared; and in others have conquered and permanently settled in them. These invaders, in ancient times, were chiefly the Gauls, Germans, and Scythians; but, in later ages, in Asia, the Tartar tribes alone.

Under the general denomination of Tartar, a name known only since the twelfth century, European writers have comprehended the whole of those extensive tribes which range in the wide expanse of country stretching north of the Himalaya mountains, the Oxus, the Caspian, and the Black Sea, as far as the Northern Ocean, however much they may differ from each other

in language or origin. Memorials remain of the incursions and conquests of these nations towards the south in very early ages: but their grand overflowings and permanent ascendancy in modern times occurred immediately before and after the tenth century, when large bodies of them traversed and settled in the dominions of the Khalifs; in the beginning of the thirteenth under Chengíz Khan, and in the end of the fourteenth under Amír Taimur, better known in the west as the great Tamerlane.

This name of Tartar, or more properly Tatar, which we apply to these numerous migratory tribes, is unknown to themselves as a general appellation, and never properly belonged even to any considerable proportion of them. It seems originally to have been the name of one division of a tribe of the race which we now, whether properly or not, distinguish as Mongols or Moghuls, and by one of those mistakes so common to foreigners, to have been erroneously applied to nearly the whole inhabitants of the north of Asia.

Grand races.

The tribes which we include under the name of Tartar consist chiefly of three great divisions or races, all differing from each other in manners, institutions, and language. 1. The Tunguses and Manchús in the east of Asia, north of China. 2. The Mongols, or, as they are called by the Persians and Indians, the Moghuls, who occupy chiefly the middle portion north of Tibet, nearly as far west as Terfán, and part of the desert between that and the Yaik; and 3. The Túrks, who for many centuries have possessed the large regions that extend on the west of the Mongols from the desert of Kobi; having for their southern boundary the mountains of Káshghar and Pámer, Khorásán, the Caspian and Black Sea; the Don and Wolga on the west, and Siberia on the north. But some few tribes, both of Mongols and of Túrks, are to be found in the limits thus marked out as peculiarly belonging to their respective

SECT. I. ranges. The Túrks are the most extensive and numerous of the three races.*

Each of these grand divisions is broken down into a great number of smaller tribes, generally nearly independent of each other, every one managing its own concerns; and it is not to be forgotten that though, for the sake of convenience, we designate the two former races as Tungus or Manchú, and Mongol, these general names are not used by the tribes themselves for that purpose, but each distinct tribe has its separate appellation. All who speak the Túrki language, whatever be their tribe, seem, however, to acknowledge themselves as being Túrks.

Their manners. These Tartar tribes, as for the convenience of possessing a general name we may continue to call the whole of them, are all pastoral, and have each their own range, within which they move from place to place with their families, flocks, and dwellings, as the heat or cold of the season, the scarcity or abundance of pasture induce them. They live in tents or in movable huts, often carried in waggons, which their cattle draw from place to place, according to the movements of the tribe.† Their wealth consists in their flocks of cattle, sheep, and horses. Milk is their chief food, and the flesh of their flocks; but they kill their cattle sparingly and unwillingly. They are little addicted to cultivate the ground, and rather despise such of their neighbours as settle to breathe the polluted air of one spot, and to live on the top of a weed, as in contempt they de-

* The Túrki race occupies an important place in history. Europeans in general are chiefly acquainted with the Turks of Constantinople or Turkey, who are only one branch of the great tree. To distinguish the grand general race from the more limited one of the Ottomans, the former, in the following pages, are spoken of as Túrks and Túrki, with the ú accented. The usual unaccented form of the words (Turk and Turkish) is employed to mark the Ottomans or Osmanlis. For some further remarks on the Tartar tribes, see Appendix A.

† . . . . . Campestres Scythæ
Quorum plaustra vagas rite trahunt domos.—HOR.

nominate corn. The care of the children, the preparation of food and clothing, and, in general, all domestic employments, belong to the women. The men delight in the chase, whenever the means of following it are presented. Living much in the open air, on horseback, exposed to fatigue and accustomed to long marches, and in older times often exposed to the dangers of war, and habitually on the watch against surprise, their mode of life made them hardy and bold, and gave them the habits of soldiers. Their government, though not uniform, is generally patriarchal; the whole tribe is regarded as descended from the same stock, and they willingly obey the head of a particular family as their hereditary ruler. But there is considerable variety in the internal government of different tribes arising from ancient usages, or the character of individual chiefs. Some are despotic, but in general the chief advises with the elders or heads of the leading families as a council; though on some solemn or important occasions it is usual to convene the whole tribe. Private disputes are settled by the Ak-sakáls (or Grey-beards, as they are called) * men of a certain age and authority, according to ancient usage. SECT. I.

Of these three races, the most eastern, the Manchús, about two hundred years ago conquered China, which they still continue to govern, as other tribes of the same Tungus family had already done in earlier times. But the race does not seem to be at all known to the historians of Persia or India, and has had no direct influence on the fortune of these countries. Manchús.

The second race, the Mongols or Moghuls, chiefly occupy the country that lies between the other two, and have acted a very important part, though for a short period of time, in the history of Asia. For many ages the different Tartar races or tribes in the north had Mongols.

* The Túrks and Afgháns call the leading men who form a sort of councillors in the tribe, *Ak-sakáls*, white (or grey) beards.

SECT. I. carried on war with each other, unknown to or unregarded by the conterminous nations, or known to their Chinese and Túrki neighbours alone, when Chengíz Khan, the chief of a small and till then unimportant tribe properly called Mongol, after a long series of struggles, such as in other instances have roused the genius and matured the talents of men destined to be conquerors, having by gallant exertions recovered the station of chief of his tribe, of which, in his youthful years he had been deprived, gradually subdued the tribes around, and subsequently extended his dominions in the Tartar waste, beyond the limits of his own race and language. Having subdued Pekin and the northern half of China, he led his Mongol hordes against the Oighurs and other Túrki tribes lying between Transoxiana and his own original country, most of whom, after severe conflicts, he compelled to acknowledge his sway. But his empire, great and mighty as it then was, would not have attracted much notice in Europe, had he not, crossing the Jaxartes, followed his Túrki enemies into the highly cultivated and, for that age of the world, civilised and refined country of Transoxiana or Mawerannaher, in which they had taken shelter among their brethren of the same race, who had long possessed the chief influence, and, since the decline of the empire of the Khalifs, held the reins of government in that extensive region. After besieging and sacking, with relentless cruelty, the numerous rich and populous cities with which the country of Transoxiana then abounded, he crossed the Oxus and poured the destructive inundation of his barbarians over Khwárazm, Bálkh, and Khorásán, ravaging on the one hand a large portion of Persia and Armenia, and on the other spreading desolation through Kandáhár and Ghazni as far as the Indus, over countries which for upwards of two centuries had been governed by rulers of Túrki extraction. Not content with this, he added the wide plains of the

Chengíz Khan. His conquests.

A.D. 1206–1227.

Khozars and Kumans beyond the Caspian to his own overgrown dominions. SECT. I.

On his death, his mighty empire still went on extending its limits, under his immediate descendants, who not only continued the invasion of Southern China, but mounting the Wolga and passing the Don and the Nieper, conquered the Bulgarians, Russians, and Poles, and overran Hungary, Bosnia, Dalmatia, Silesia, and Moravia, threatening Vienna itself, and spreading consternation over all the kingdoms of Christendom. Those of his descendants.

The conquests of Chengíz Khan, and his immediate Moghul successors, were conducted with an exterminating cruelty and a cold contempt of human life and suffering of which history affords perhaps no other example. The Moghuls employed in their armies, and used as instruments of their conquests, the Túrki and other tribes of the desert whom they had subdued. But as they advanced farther from home, and left their deserts behind, the course of their march through more populous regions was marked by the burning of cities, the devastation and ruin of the country and the slaughter of all the inhabitants whom they did not carry off to sell as slaves. Their uniform plan was to convert the fields into a desert, and to leave behind them no human being that could rise on their rear, that could offer a moment's annoyance, or occasion the slightest risk to the invaders. By the barbarity of their massacres, in which age, and sex, and condition were alike disregarded, they spread horror and dismay around them on every side, and to remote regions. This habit of slaughter seems to have generated an unnatural and almost sportive thirst for blood, many harrowing instances of which are related by contemporary writers: and even in later times it would appear that no tribe has made less progress in humanity and civilisation than the Mongols.* Excessive cruelty.

* The name of the horrible ogres of fable and romance was taken from the Oighurs, a tribe who were employed in the van of the armies that overran the east of Europe. The reckless cruelty and cannabalism of

SECT. I.

Their conquests in Europe they soon abandoned, Russia excepted, which they continued to hold for about a hundred and fifty years. Towards the end of the thirteenth century, their empire, which at one time stretched from the Sea of Korea to the Adriatic, began to fall into a number of separate kingdoms, and towards the close of the following century, disappeared altogether in the south of Asia, before the victorious arms of Amír Taimur.

Dissolution of the empire.

A.D. 1298.

A.D. 1400.

The dominion of the Mogols lasted therefore little more than seventy years as one great empire, and for about a hundred more in smaller independent kingdoms. But such was the influence of the power and name of Chengíz Khan, that, in spite of the comparatively short period of the Moghul ascendancy, the Musulman monarchs of Asia have ever since been eager to trace their families up to him as the grand source of sovereign authority; and though the number of Moghuls who since the decline of his family have sought their fortune in India is insignificant, compared with the Túrks and Persians, the term Moghul is still used in that country as a general appellation for all adventurers from the North; and has even given its name to the Moghul Empire, as it is called, though that empire was really founded by the Chaghatái Túrks, a perfectly different race. But so completely has the power of the Moghuls as a people, disappeared in the south of Asia, that perhaps the only direct remnant of the invasion of Chengíz Khan now to be found south of the Jaxartes is in the hills between Herát and Kábul, where some portion of the Hazáras or of the Aimáks seem to be the descendants

these imaginary beings were supposed, by the terror-stricken hearers of these tales, to present a faithful picture of the manners of the infidel Tartar invaders. D'Ohsson's learned Histoire des Mongols, tome i. (Paris, 1824), contains a lively account of the enormities of the Moghul invasion. But the Oighurs, though in the Moghul army, were of a Túrki family.

of a Moghul tribe settled in these highlands from the time of the great conqueror.

The third and most numerous class of Tartars are the Túrks, whose ancient and peculiar territory has been already described as extending from the Desert of Kobi to the Wolga, and from the Oxus and the Caspian far into Siberia. This ancient extent of territory, partially broken by the intervention of some Moghul tribes, was much enlarged by conquests in different ages. Thus, in the west, they passed the Wolga and occupied not only the territory that afterwards became the extensive kingdoms of Astrakhan and Kásán, but the greater part of the northern shores of the Caspian and Black Seas, as far as Moldavia; and, on the south, the desert tracts which cross Khorásán and Persia, extending from Khwárazm to Kirmán, are possessed by the Iliáts or tribes of migratory Túrks, as indeed they have been from very early times.

The Túrks, their extensive range

Those desert and pastoral countries which they possess as sole occupants for the range of their herds and flocks are indeed extensive; but the most remarkable events of this history, and the most conspicuous display of the singular energy of the national character, occurred beyond the limits of the desert. The Túrks have in different ages extended their influence into the more cultivated regions of the East, sometimes acting individually unaided except by the inherent powers of their mind, sometimes acting in bands by direct force. Several of their smaller tribes, which found their way to the south, were at an early period entertained in the service of the Arabian Khalifs of Bagdad; and many private adventurers, generally little bands of their devoted followers, sought wealth and distinction by taking service in the armies of different Asiatic princes. Numbers of their hardy race were even purchased as slaves by these monarchs, and embodied as their life guards, or educated in their palaces as their

and influence

under the Khalifs.

SECT. I. most trusty and confidential servants. These, in the course of time, rose to be their chief ministers, the generals of their armies, and governors of their provinces; and in the decline of the Khalifate, the principal revolutions effected in the empire, whether in the palace

A.H. 390, A.D. 1000. In Ghazni, or the field, were conducted by them. In a similar manner, the kingdom of Ghazni came into the possession of Sebaktegín, a Túrki slave, whose son, Sultan Mahmúd not only extended his empire to the Oxus and Caspian, but carried his victorious arms many times into the

A.H. 429 A.D. 1038. The Seljúks centre of India. Towards the beginning of the eleventh century the celebrated Seljúki Túrks, leaving Transoxiana with their flocks, and being joined in their progress by kindred tribes from Khorásán, advanced westward, traversing the dominions not only of the Khalif

In Persia, of Baghdad but of the Greek Emperor of Constantinople. They gradually made the degraded khalifs mere puppets in their hands, and settled as conquerors both in Persia and in the western provinces of Asia Minor. From that tendency to division, however, so natural to the chiefs of independent tribes, they soon broke down into a number of smaller states and principalities; and the fragments into which they split, the Seljúki dynasties of Irán, Kermán, Damascus, Aleppo, and Iconium, as well as the Atábeks of Irák, Azerbáiján, Fárs, and Láristán, make a conspicuous figure in the history of these ages.

A.H. 656, A.D. 1258. Osmanlis, The Túrki ascendancy was for a time interrupted by the Moghul invasion of Chengíz Khan and his descendants, which overturned the Seljúki and other Túrki Governments, and in the end, the Khalifate of Baghdad itself. But, the torrent soon passed over, and, on the ruins of Seljúki principality of Iconium, Othman, a

A.H. 699, A.D. 1300. Túrki Emír, founded a new state which in process of time, spreading on every side, grew into the Ottoman empire; and which, by the extent of its dominions and its success in war, in spite of the early shock that it received

from the arms of Taimur, has overshadowed the fame of all the other Túrki monarchies, and carried the victorious crescent over a great portion not only of Asia and Africa, but of Europe itself. SECT. I.

The conquests of Mír Taimur, in the end of the fourteenth and beginning of the fifteenth centuries, may be regarded as having re-established the direct Túrki government all over the countries south of the Jaxartes, the Caspian and the Black Sea;—Máwerannaher, Khwárazm, Khorásán, Persia, Syria and a great part of Asia Minor, besides the Afghan country, and India as far as Delhi, having submitted to his yoke. Since his time there has been no great Túrki invasion from the north, that excepted already alluded to, by which, in the age of Báber, the Túrki tribe of Uzbeks took possession of Máwerannaher and Bálkh; and that by which Báber himself transferred the government of India from the Afghans to the Túrks. Conquests of Taimur; of the Uzbeks, A.H. 908, A.D. 1502; of Báber, A.H. 932, A.D. 1525.

The subjection of various kingdoms of Hindustán, and, at a later period, of the Dekhan, to Túrki adventurers, may be added to the triumphs of the race.

But the influence of the Tartar invasions was not confined to Asia and its governments. The intrepid and enterprising spirit of the Túrks was conspicuous wherever a certain number of individuals of their extraction was accidentally found. In Africa, numbers of Túrki prisoners taken by the followers of Chengíz, during the wars of that conqueror, having been purchased by the Sultans of Egypt, were embodied under the name of Mamelukes, or slaves, and trained as the body-guards of the prince. They, like all other Prætorian bands, soon discovered that by possessing the sword they possessed the government; and led on, in the ordinary course of ambition, they in the end deposed the ancient dynasty, raised one of their own number to the sovereign power, and for upwards of a hundred and thirty years continued to sway the sceptre of Egypt. Túrki Mamelukes in Egypt, A.H. 648–784, A.D. 1250–1382.

SECT. I.

During all that time they recruited their numbers by new purchases of slaves from the north. The throne continued elective among themselves, under the single restriction that the person who filled it should be of Túrkistán. The Túrki were succeeded by the Circassian Mamelukes, who pursued a similar system, till they were subdued by the Ottoman Turks. But the system of a Mameluke government soon revived, and was only brought to a close in our times by the atrocious perfidy of the relentless Muhammed Ali Pasha.

Circassian Mamelukes, A.H. 923, A.D. 1517.

Thus it appears that few races of men, at any period of the world, have acted a more distinguished part than the Túrki, who, in one form or another, for centuries ruled a great portion of the old world; and who, even at the present day, influence, directly or indirectly, the government, manners, and civilisation of mankind, from the Straits of Gibraltar to the deserts on the Yeneseí, and from the limits of Hungary and Poland to the farthest bounds of the empire of Hindustán.

These conquests, especially those of Chengíz Khan and of Taimur, produced several important changes both among the Tartar tribes themselves, and in the countries which they conquered.

Religion of Moghuls,

Before the age of Chengíz, the Mongol tribes had adopted from Tibet and India the religious tenets and observances of the Shamans, according to the sect of Buddhism prevalent in these countries; while the Túrki tribes, several of which inhabited on the borders of the Arab conquests in Transoxiana, and others were surrounded by Muhammedans or established in Muhammedan countries, had in general adopted the Musulman faith. Chengíz Khan and his first successors, who adhered to the old religion of their tribe, were therefore considered by their Muhammedan subjects as infidel Pagans. But they too, after being settled for a generation or two in Musulman countries, adopted the prevailing faith; whereas the Moghul tribes in their own

and Túrks.

SECT. I.

country, down to the present day, in general retain their ancient religion.

Chengíz's plan of government.

When Chengíz deputed his sons or generals to govern any of the conquered countries,—and in this policy he was imitated by his successors,—he sent along with them an úlús or túmán, or some Moghul tribe or division of a tribe, to overawe the conquered. This policy was pursued as to the Túrki population as well as every other. The Moghul tribe so employed received an allotment of country, and placed themselves with their families and flocks in the pasture range of the tribes among whom they were sent. Though the Moghuls and Túrks differ in religion and language, yet by the inevitable intercourse that takes place between persons living under the same government, near to and in habits of intercourse with each other, by intermarriages, by traffic and in other ways, a considerable mixture of the two races took place, which showed itself both in their language, and in their features and bodily appearance. This was more particularly the case as to several of the Túrki tribes. The Moghuls, never having been conquered by the Túrks, have in general remained more unmixed; and in the intermarriages that have taken place between the two races, their features, which are the more marked, seem to have predominated over those of the Túrks. The intermixture of blood was, from civil and political causes, most frequent among the chiefs and leading men of the tribes.

Tartars settle

The condition of the Tartars who emigrated to the south was much affected by the accidental mode of their settlement; whether, for example, it was made by them as individuals or in tribes; whether they settled in the country or in cities. Thus their situation in Transoxiana and in Persia was considerably different from what it was in India.

in tribes,

Wherever circumstances have allowed, the Túrks have preserved their attachment to their original tribes

SECT. I.

and language, their fondness for a life of freedom, and their preference of the pastoral to the agricultural state. In regions not far removed from their original seats, and where there were deserts over which they could roam, as in Transoxiana, Khorásán, and Persia, they moved forward in tribes and in a body occupied the wastes and wilds that intersect these countries. In this way the Túrki tribes have become the possessors of nearly the whole of the deserts or pastoral plains of Tùrkistán, Máwerannaher, and Khwárazm, as well as of Khorásán and Persia, which they enjoy to this day; together with no small portion of Asia Minor, where the Turkoman tribes range from Syria as far as Smyrna and Nice. Hence too the language of the desert is different from that of the cultivated country. In Transoxiana, Persia, and Khorásán, the Persian, apparently the old language of these countries, continues to be that of the cities, of the villages, and of the cultivators of the ground, as well as of trade and commerce. But as the Túrks are the rulers in all these provinces, as the throne for some centuries has been filled and supported by Túrki families, as they with the mixture of a few Kurdish and Arab families are masters of the wilds, the Túrki, even in Persia, is the language not only of the desert, but of the court. In such circumstances the division into Túrks and Tájiks, — the latter the ancient agricultural and commercial population, the former the nomadic, the military and dominant race, — is in full force; and hence, throughout the Ottoman or Turkish dominions in Europe, Asia, and Africa, the Turkish, a dialect of the Túrki, is uniformly the language of the rulers; even when it happens not to be the language of the people, as in the greater proportion of the empire it is not.

or as individuals.

In India the influence of the Tartars was somewhat different. From early times the Tartars had been accustomed to resort to that country not in tribes but

individually, as adventurers in search of fortune; and many of these adventurers of Túrki race, both in Hindustán and in the Dekhan, have risen to the greatest military and political eminence, and have even been elevated to the throne by their personal talents and energy of character. Some of them have transmitted their dominions to their posterity, and history accordingly presents us with various Túrki dynasties in these countries. The Túrks, however, never affected to monopolise all the authority of the kingdoms which they thus obtained. The natives of India, and adventurers of other tribes and countries, shared in the administration of the government and in military commands. The invasion of Taimur, who indeed entered India with immense military hordes, was only a sudden inundation that laid every thing prostrate before it, but soon passed away. Under his descendant Báber, on the contrary, the Túrks did not present themselves in tribes, but as parts of a regular army, or by individual emigration. They were mixed, in the army and in the court, with Moghuls and Persians. They found a country already populous, and its territories fully occupied by civilised inhabitants, as well as by a race of conquerors of their own religion. They had none of the exterminating ferocity of Chengíz, and were not so insane as to have a wish to expel the cultivators from lands, the value of which was owing solely to their labour, and which they themselves had no desire to occupy. The chiefs were rewarded with jágírs or landed estates, that is, with the government share of the produce; the inferior followers who were not provided for in the jágír of their chief, though they always showed a preference to a military life, gradually entered into the various branches of the public service. They willingly entered into the service of men of rank, rarely became merchants, hardly ever artizans or tradesmen, and were averse to agricultural pursuits. They claimed a superiority individually in

SECT. I. public and private estimation as belonging to the dominant class, but they did not herd together as a separate horde. The different races met and mixed in affairs of government, on their private business, in commerce and trade. But the foreign Musulman never entirely coalesced with the native Hindú. Religion continued always to keep them widely apart in their domestic intercourse, in their amusements, their customs and their habits of thinking. They were two different elements, possessed of repulsive qualities, which, however closely pressed together, never amalgamated. The language both of the country and the towns remained unchanged. During the two first reigns of the new dynasty, the Túrki continued to be the language of the emperor and his Túrki grandees; but the Persian by degrees became that of the court; at the same time that a different language, the Urdú Bhasha, the language of the horde or royal camp, composed in its elements of the language of Upper Hindustán, and of some other native Indian dialects, with a large infusion of Persian, became, even more than it had hitherto been, the medium of intercourse of the many separate nations and tribes which constituted the imperial army. Nor was it confined to the camp, but gradually came to be understood by the servants in the different departments of government, and by most of the chief village-officers in the whole extent of the many-tongued empire.*

* The period of the origin of the Hindustáni language is uncertain. It would seem to have begun under the earlier Túrki and Afghán dynasties, from the same causes that made it spread under the dynasty of Báber.

SECTION SECOND.

CHENGÍZ KHAN DIVIDES HIS EMPIRE AMONG HIS SONS. — THEIR TERRITORIES. — I. JÚJI KHAN GETS THE DESHT-KIPCHÁK. — CONQUESTS OF HIS DESCENDANTS. — DECLINE AND DIVISION OF THEIR KINGDOM. — RISE OF THE UZBEKS, AND OF THE KAIZÁKS.

SECT. II.

SUCH is a very general sketch of some of the grand leading distinctions of race among the wandering tribes of the north of Asia, of their original position in their deserts, and of the influence exercised on their character by the mode in which they afterwards settled in foreign countries. It still remains to give some idea of the early history and political divisions of the Uzbeks and Western Moghuls at the period of Báber's entrance into public life.

Chengíz Khan

Chengíz Khan, as we have seen, was a Moghul. In the history of his progenitors we meet with that infusion of fable and miracle which in ignorant times is deemed necessary to add dignity to the genealogies of illustrious men. Alankáwa, a virgin of the family of the chief of the Moghuls, by some undefinable intercourse with a celestial being, had three sons at a birth, from one of whom Chengíz Khan, the great hero of the race, was descended in the ninth degree, and Mír Taimur or Tamerlane, from another in the fourteenth.*

* Miles's Shajrat, pp. 46—48.; Abulghazi, Histoire Geneal. des Tatars, P. II. c. 15. The story is related with some variety of circumstances by all the Musulman historians. Abulghazi makes the lady not a virgin but a widow. The visitant is by some represented as a refulgent stream of sun-beams; by others as a man of an orange colour, with eyes of singular beauty. The date of the event, A. H. 111, (A. D. 729) is given in the Shajrat; but nine descents are too few to fill up the space from that date till Chengíz's birth.

SECT. II. Chengíz Khan, at his death, left an empire that stretched from the Euxine to the Yellow Sea, and from the deserts of Mekrán to the farthest wastes of Siberia.

Divides his empire. This mighty empire he, in his lifetime, had divided among his four sons. To the eldest, Júji*, he assigned the Desht, or Plains of Kipchák; but that prince dying some months before his father, the allotment was made over to his son Bátu. The territory of this prince comprised the country lying north of the lower course of the Sirr or Jaxartes, the Sea of Aral and the Caspian, including the rich countries on the Don and Wolga and part of those on the Black Sea. To the second son, Chaghátái Khan†, were assigned the wide extent of desert and pasture land between the Desht-Kipchák on the west, and the original residence of the Moghul tribes on the east, between the Tibet mountains, the Indus, and Mekrán on the south, and Siberia on the north: comprehending, besides the wide range of the northern desert, the countries of Káshghar, Khoten, and the Oighurs, as far as the desert of Kobi, Ferghana, and Tashkend on the Jaxartes, the whole of Transoxiana, with Badakhshán, Bálkh; Khwárazm, Khorásán, Ghazni, Kábul, and the other conquests of Chengíz in that quarter. To Oktái or Ogatái Khan, a third son, he allotted the original Moghul country, with the tribes immediately around it; and to a fourth, Túli, the possession of Khita or China.

To each of these four princes a force was assigned, to enable him to rule the dominions over which he was placed. This force consisted of some Ulus, or migratory hordes of Moghuls or other Tartars, which might be regarded as the standing armies of the different khans. Our concern is solely with the territories and successors of the two first, Júji and Chaghatái.

All the Moghul princes, in the first instance, ac-

* Called also, Chuchi, Zuzi, and Tushi.

† Or, Jaghatái.

knowledged Oktái as the head of the empire; and, after his death, his place was supplied by election, the Grand Khan continuing to reside in the original Moghul country at Karakorum. In the course of some reigns, however, the dependence of the other princes on the Grand Khan became less and less, and finally ceased entirely. At what precise time this occurred in the case of the Júji and Chaghatái Khans, is not very clear. In Persia, Arghún Khan about A.H. 690 (A.D. 1291) joined his own name on the public coin with that of the Grand Khan; and Kázán Khan A.H. 703 (A.D. 1304) left out the name of the Grand Khan altogether. The change probably took place in the Júji and Chaghatái dominions about the same time; and the khans of these countries seem, thenceforward, to have been regarded as Khákáns or Grand Khans, each in his own territory. SECT. II.

The order of succession to the Khans was not strictly uniform. It was partly hereditary, partly elective. The Khan was always taken from the family of Chengíz; but on his death, if he happened to have a son of some talent who had assisted him in the government, the son was generally allowed to succeed; otherwise, the most distinguished of the brothers of the late Khan, or his uncle, or the relation who happened to have most influence in the tribe, was called to the government. Minors did not succeed at the time of their father's death; but the election was open to them at a future period, when they were of age.*

I. *Of Júji Khan, and the Desht-Kipchák.*

The portion of Júji Khan, the eldest of the sons of Chengíz, on his premature death, was transferred to his son Bátu. It was much enlarged by that prince in

Júji gets the Desht-Kipchák, A.H. 624, A.D. 1227.

* Miles's Shajrat-ul-Atrák, pp. 22—28.; Abulghazi Khan, Hist. Geneal. P. I. c. 2. &c.

SECT. II. his celebrated expedition into the west, in which he took Moscow, reduced Russia and Poland to subjection, and extended his ravages into Silesia, Hungary, Bosnia, and Dalmatia, as far as the Adriatic. The operations of the Moghuls in their wide-extended invasions were conducted with their accustomed cruelty and barbarous contempt of human life and suffering. They exterminated, as far as they could, the inhabitants of the country which they overran, and spread consternation and dismay over the remotest parts of Christendom.* Bátu, on his return from this expedition, in which his brother Sheibáni had distinguished himself in a remarkable manner, made him a grant of some of the extensive provinces conquered from the Russians and other Christians, with a sufficient number of the Kuris, Naiman, Karlik, and Oighur tribes to keep them in subjection; and Orda-Itzen, another brother, made him a present of fifteen thousand Tartar families for the same purpose: but the brothers stipulated with Sheibáni, that he himself should take up his range between the territories of Bátu and Orda-Itzen, passing the summer near the Ural mountains and the Yáik river †, and the winter in the more southern countries on the Sirr and Sára-sú. In addition to this, Mangu-Taimur Khan, the brother and successor of Bátu, bestowed on Beháder, Sheibáni's son, the Ak-Orda, or White horde, probably a tribe of Moghuls. Hitherto the descendants of Chengíz Khan had been Pagans, but one of Bátu's successors, Uzbek Khan, having been himself converted to the Islam, introduced the Mahommedan religion among the tribes of Kipchák, which he ruled, and was so much beloved by the portion of his subjects who followed him in adopting the Musulman religion, that they assumed his name, and from him called themselves Uzbeks. He appears to have died about A.H. 751.

His successors.

Uzbek Khan, A.H. 720, A.D. 1320.

A.H. 751, A.D. 1350.

* See D'Ohsson, Histoire des Mongols, tome i. Paris, 1824.

† Or, Jaik.

SECT. II.

Civil Wars, and invasion of Taimur.

On the death of Uzbek Khan, a series of civil wars followed in the empire of Kipchák, ending in a general anarchy, during which several chiefs assumed independence. These disorders continued down to the time of Mír Taimur, who, when he had risen to power in Transoxiana, found two rivals, Urus Khan and Toktamish Khan, both descended of Júji, contending for the dignity of Great Khan of the Kipchák. Toktamish being worsted, sought the assistance of Taimur, who, after long wars, seated him on the throne of Seráichak on the Wolga. But a quarrel soon ensued between the allies; and Taimur, raising up Taimur-Kutluk, a third candidate for the Khanship, entered and overran the country of Toktamish, destroyed his towns and broke his power. But Taimur-Kutluk, like Toktamish, found it necessary, in his turn, to withdraw from the alliance of Mír Taimur, whom he probably found disposed to act rather as a master than an auxiliary. Mír Taimur, upon this, transferred his support to Kaúrchik, the son of that Urus whom he had humbled to place Toktamish on his throne. To aid his new ally, he placed in his service a powerful body of Uzbeks. There were, therefore, at this time, in the distracted country of Kipchák, besides inferior chiefs claiming independence, three Grand Khans, Toktamish, Taimur Kutluk, and Kaúrchik, all descended of Júji; and all of whom had successively been supported and opposed by Taimur. That great conqueror's policy was to rule by sowing discord among the tribes.

A.H. 777, A.D. 1375.

A.H. 797, A.D. 1395.

Rise of separate Khanships,

A.H. 808, A.D. 1406.

The family of Júji never recovered the shock which it then received from civil war and foreign invasion. Though a Grand Khan continued for some time after to be acknowledged, his power no longer prevailed over the whole wide extent of the Desht-Kipchák. Many of the heads of the remoter tribes disclaimed all superior authority, and acted for themselves. Three separate Khanships were gradually formed, in the west, those of

SECT. II.

Astrakhan, Kásán, and the Krim: while in the east, Kipchák became divided between the Khan of Tura and the Uzbeks. For a time, some one of the Khans descended of Júji continued to exercise authority over the Russians, and other races as far as Poland and Lithuania; issued his firmans as sovereign; and, when any quarrel arose, carried his mandates into execution with a high hand. Yet the Khan gradually ceased to be the same important personage that he had been. The arms of the Russians even began to encroach on his dominions, now broken into separate principalities, and province after province was swallowed up by their rising power.

The Uzbeks, A.H. 750, A.D. 1349.

Our concern, in the following pages, is solely with the eastern division, that of the Uzbeks, whose range extended from the Yáik to the Sirr. In spite of their name of Uzbeks, their chiefs, though of the race of Júji, were not descended from Uzbek Khan, under whose khanship the tribe had been originally converted to the Musulman faith, but whose posterity had become extinct. It is said that such of the tribes of Uzbek Khan's extensive empire as had joined the Khan in the new opinions, withdrew to the countries between the Yáik and the Sirr. The Túrki tribes, who dwelt in Turkistán, led by their common origin and common faith, gladly united with them. Such tribes only as became Muhammedans took the name of Uzbeks. They did not amalgamate into one tribe, but continued in their many separate tribes as formerly.*

* Before the Khanship of Kipchák was broken into so many parts, and especially before the invasion of Taimur, a good deal of trade seems to have passed through the country. Arabshah complains that whereas formerly caravans used to travel in perfect safety from Khwárazm to the Krim, a three months' journey, and were hospitably entertained all along their route, none, in his time, ventured to make such a journey. (Manger, Arabshah, vol. i. p. 373.) He mentions that the Turki language was spoken with great elegance in Kipchák. It is obvious that the parcelling of a country among a number of independent sovereigns or tribes, must be unfavourable to the safe or easy progress of caravans or travellers.

SECT. II.

Abulkhair Khan.

About a century after the formation of this Uzbek confederacy, the sceptre of the tribes descended to Abulkhair Khan, an able and ambitious prince. In the course of his reign he made himself formidable to all his neighbours. He united many new tribes to his government, and, by the vigour of his character, ruled in the Desht-Kipchák with more absolute authority, and over a larger extent of territory, than any Khan had done for some generations. Not content with this, he engaged in the factions of Samarkand during the wars that followed the death of Ulugh Beg Mirza, and may be said to have placed Sultan Abusaid Mirza, then a young man and a fugitive, on the throne of Máwerannaher. Abulkhair, when he retired back into his deserts, loaded with booty, carried with him a daughter of Ulugh Beg Mirza, whom he married.

A.H. 855, A.D. 1451.

Secession of the Kaizák-Uzbeks.

The despotic superiority of Abulkhair was so sensibly felt by many chieftains of Kipchák, that several of them, especially some Sultans of the race of Júji who governed important tribes, knowing that they were objects of his suspicion, and believing that even their lives were in danger, moved away with their tribes from their ancient pastoral range, abandoned the Uzbek country, and seceded from his government. Among these were Gerái Khan, Jani Beg Khan and others, who fled towards Moghulistán.* This secession occurred while the khanship of the Moghuls was held by Isan-bugha Khan, Yúnis Khan's brother. Isan-bugha received the fugitives honourably, and assigned them a district on his western frontier. There, under his protection, they fed their flocks, free and unmolested, for several years.†

* The Uzbek Kaizáks are carefully to be distinguished from the Don Cossacks and other Russian Cossacks, who, whatever they may originally have been, have latterly become a very mixed race.

† The land allotted to these chiefs was Báshi near Jud-Kozi, which lies on the western limit of Moghulistán. Tar. Reshídi, f. 57. Our knowledge of the geography of the desert is so imperfect, that it is difficult to assign a precise situation to almost any of the places mentioned in the annals of Moghulistán.

SECT. II.

Fall of Abulkhair, A.H. 870, A.D. 1465-66.

Abulkhair had reigned many years as a victorious and fortunate prince, when a combination was formed, among the heads of the leading tribes in Kipchák, to humble his ambition and to set limits to his overgrown power.* He met the confederates in the field with his usual bravery; but being deserted by fortune, was defeated and slain with several of his sons. His defeat was followed by a separation of the tribes that had formed the Ulús of the Uzbeks. Many tribes resumed their independence, others formed new connections. A body of Uzbeks, to the number of twenty thousand men, migrating with their herds and flocks, joined Gerái Khan and Jani Beg, whose new confederacy soon acquired increase of strength, and speedily came to be formidable under the name of Kaizák-Uzbeks. A considerable body of Abulkhair's immediate retainers remained faithful to the family, and acknowledged Bárúj Ughlán, his eldest surviving son †, as their Khan. Burga Sultan, the cousin of Abulkhair, and head of a younger and separate branch of the family, though he had been employed with distinction and in offices of high trust by Abulkhair, availing himself of the general confusion that followed his death, took possession of a portion of territory which had belonged to the Khan; an act of

* Abulghazi, P. VIII. c. iv. The power of Abulkhair seems to have received a severe shock before this from an irruption of Uz-Taimur, the Taishi of the Kalimáks, who broke into his dominions at the head of a hundred thousand men. Abulkhair having refused to submit to the terms of peace that were offered, a battle ensued, in which the Khan was defeated, several of his principal chiefs slain, and himself forced to take refuge in his castle of Saghák. Being finally compelled to agree to the conditions proposed by the Táishi, the Kalimák inundation again flowed back from his country, but in its return wasted the rich provinces of Turkistán, Shahrokhía, and Tashkend. The Kalimáks, or Kalmuks, call their chief, Táishi; and from the terms Khan-Táishi are formed the word Contaish, by which he is generally known.

† Shah Bedágh, or Borák, the father of Sheibáni, is usually spoken of as the eldest son of Abulkhair. Abulghazi here calls Bárúj the eldest son. I have added the qualification "surviving," which was probably what Abulghazi meant.

ingratitude that was not forgotten by the grandson of Abulkhair. SECT. II.

Rise of the Kaizáks.

The Kaizák-Uzbeks under Gerái and Jani Beg, supported as they were by the Khan of the Moghuls, became so powerful, that Bárúj Ughlan, Abulkhair's son, was unable to maintain himself in the ancient pastoral range of his father. Yielding therefore to necessity, he quitted the wide champaign that spreads on the north towards the Yáik, and retired to the south, into the plains of Turkistán, on the lower course of the Sirr, and the deserts to the north of that river. Here he had remained for some years in comparative seclusion and quiet, when he learned that Yúnis Khan, who now governed in Moghulistán, having been defeated in the East by the Kalimáks in a great battle, had retired before them, and with the Grand Ulus of the Moghuls, consisting of 60,000 families, had entered Turkistán, and taken up his winter-quarters at Kara-Tukái on the Seihun or Jaxartes. Bárúj, burning with indignation at the protection afforded, first by Isanbugha, and now by his brother Yúnis Khan, to the Kaizák-Uzbeks, whom he regarded as refractory and rebellious subjects, resolved to gratify his revenge by beating up the quarters of the Moghuls.

A.H. 877, A.D. 1472-73.

Bárúj surprises Yunis Khan;

Having taken his measures with the greatest skill and secrecy, he set out at the head of a body of twenty thousand men, and by a sudden march completely surprised the encampment of the Moghuls. It happened that the whole of their men had that morning gone across the Seihun, which was frozen over, to enjoy a grand hunting party. Bárúj consequently found the camp quite undefended, and his people instantly began to drive off the flocks, and to seize and secure the property thus presented on every hand to their rapacity. When the alarming intelligence of this most unexpected attack was brought to the Moghul Khan, without waiting to collect his men, who were scattered in every

SECT. II.

direction over the country, he hastened to recross the river on the ice. He was at that moment accompanied by only six of his men, who bore the grand standard. He had along with him the great trumpet, which it seems none could sound like himself. As he drew near the camp, he sounded a blast, by which his friends at once knew that the Khan was at hand. The Moghul women, encouraged by the well-known sound, rose upon the intruders with the spirit that belongs to their race, and flew upon such of the men as had entered their tents, slaying or making them prisoners. The grand standard too appearing in sight, no doubt remained that the Khan was approaching. The assailants, who were dispersed in all quarters in search of booty, thus attacked by the women within the camp, and expecting the more formidable onset of the approaching Moghuls from without, were seized with a panic. Bárúj Ughlán himself now attempted to mount his horse and to escape, but was stopped and made prisoner, by a groom, assisted by some female servants. The Khan, on coming up, caused his head to be struck off, and raised on the point of a spear. Of the twenty thousand Uzbeks who had entered the camp, few escaped. Next day the Khan, pursuing his advantage, hastened to crush the remaining adherents of the family of Abulkhair, who, confounded by this new and unforeseen calamity, unable to resist, were entirely broken and scattered abroad, insomuch that a great proportion of them, compelled altogether to abandon the desert, retired into Máwerannaher.*

but is defeated and slain.

Among those who then abandoned the desert was a man destined ere long to acquire a great name in the history of the times. Shahi Beg, or Sheibáni, was the grandson of Abulkhair Khan by that prince's eldest son Shah Bidágh Sultan. After Bárúj's disaster, he lin-

Shahi Beg leaves the desert.

* Tar. Reshídi, ff. 57, 58. 64, 65. 209. 284.

SECT. II.

gered for some time in the now inhospitable wilds and wastes of his forefathers, subjected to extreme misery, from hardships of every description; but at length, seeing no hope of effecting anything in the old dominions of his family, he found himself compelled to abandon them, and accompanied by a few faithful adherents, was one of those who repaired to Samarkand, which was then governed by Sultan Ahmed Mirza, there to await some favourable turn of fortune.*

The Kaizáks.

By the ruin of the old Uzbeks the new confederacy of Uzbek-Kaizák or Kaizák Uzbeks became the ruling power in the eastern district of Kipchák. As long as Gerai Khan lived he always retained the chief power,

Gerai.

and on his death his authority descended to his son Berenduk Khan, who continued to reign for several years. But the influence of Kasim Beg the son of that Jani Beg who had accompanied Gerai in the original secession, gradually extending itself among the tribes, Berendúk, finding at last that he had little left but the name of Khan, retired to Samarkand. Kásim Beg Khan, pursuing his advantage, became more powerful than Abulkhair had been, extended his power over nearly the whole Desht, and especially over the range which had formerly belonged to that prince and the elder Uzbeks, and is said to have had at his command an army of a million of men. But these events belong to a later period.

Berenduk. Kásim Beg.

Political State of the Desht.

When, in consequence of the ruin of the Elder Uzbeks, Sheibáni abandoned the desert, an event that preceded by a few years the birth of Bâber, the Grand Khanship of Kipchák was divided into several separate states. The Khans of Krim maintained their independence. The kingdoms of Kásán and Astrakhán had already begun to decline under the growing force of the Russians. The older branch of the Uzbeks had hardly

* Tar. Reshídi, f. 118.

SECT. II. a political existence; while the new confederation of the Kaizák Uzbeks was in all the vigour of youth, and even already had attained an extraordinary degree of strength. Their territory, besides the eastern parts of the desert of Kipchák reaching westward to the Yaik, included a portion of the western range of Moghulistán.

The language of most of the tribes of Kipchák, and in particular of the Uzbeks, was the Túrki.*

* The authorities for the history of the Khans of Kipchák are Abulghazi, parts VII., VIII.; Miles's Shajrat, pp. 220—241; Taríkh Abulkhair Kháni; Manger, Arabshah, vol. i. p. 367.; Alem-arái Abási, near the beginning; Tar. Reshídi, ff. 57. 68, 69.; D'Herbelot, art. Abusaid; Deguignes, Hist. des Huns, tom. iv. p. 434.; Petis de la Croix, Hist. de Genghis-can, p. 510.

SECTION THIRD.

II. *Of Chaghat Khan — his extensive Dominions.*

DECLINE OF THE POWER OF THE CHAGHATÁI KHANS. — DIVISION OF THEIR EMPIRE INTO MOGHULISTÁN AND MÁWERANNAHER.

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Chaghatái's dominions.

THE dominions assigned by Chengíz to his second son Chaghatái Khan were very extensive, and consisted of countries differing from each other in every particular. 1. The great northern pastoral range beyond the Sirr and Káshghar, of several months' journey, was entirely a townless waste, full of deserts, but interspersed too with lakes and rivers, varied with hill and dale, and with plains and meadows, which in the spring and summer were covered with the most beautiful flowers and plants; and in these seasons the climate of the desert was peculiarly delightful; but the extreme cold of the winter compelled the roving inhabitants, during that season, to repair to the more southern and sheltered districts. 2. Káshghar and Yárkend were in a middle state between the deserts of the north and the wealth and population of the south. Though abounding in wilds, they possessed some considerable towns, such as Káshghar, Yárkend, Khoten, Aksu, Terfán, &c. 3. The countries immediately north of the Sirr or Jaxartes, as well as those as far south as the Hindú-Kúsh and Hazára mountains, Táshkend, Samarkand, Bokhára, Bálkh, and others, were rich and civilised kingdoms, abounding in cultivated fields and flourishing cities. The

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successors of Chaghatái do not seem to have long maintained an influence over Khórásán or the dominions beyond the Hazára range.

Their discordant composition.

In the first of these divisions, the whole population were wanderers of the desert, enthusiastically attached to their wilds, which they regarded as the paradise of the earth, holding all men of towns and cities, or cultivators of the soil, in contempt. Their own wild and vagabond life they considered as the only one worthy of free and generous men. In the second, there was a mixture of settled and wandering races; while in the greater part of the third the inhabitants were chiefly settled and stationary.

The principal tribe in the Chaghatái desert was that of the Moghuls, whence the country was called Moghulistán. And this is the peculiar tract intended when Moghulistán, or the Khans of Moghulistán, are spoken of, in the writers of Persia, from the age of Chaghatái to that of Báber. The principal tribes of the Chaghatái Moghuls were the Doghlat, the Khírás, the Konchi or Kochín, the Begchak, Tekrít, and some others. The Kirghiz appear to have been a separate tribe of the same race, and connected with the Moghuls, but who afterwards became hostile to them.

The language of the wandering tribes was either Moghul or Túrki, according to their descent: that of the towns and of the cultivators of the ground was in general Persian. There was a strong line of separation drawn between the tribesman and the Tajík.

To the south-east of the Moghuls inhabited the Kalimáks (or Kalmuks), a numerous and powerful race who stretched towards the great wall of China. They were not in the Chaghatái allotment; and, though originally of the same extraction, were often in a state of hostility with the Moghuls.

An empire composed of so many and such dissimilar materials; was not likely long to remain united, unless

held together by an able and powerful hand; and the custom of the Moghul Khans, according to which they allotted particular tribes or districts to each of their children, was calculated still farther to favour this tendency to disunion. SECT. III

For many years, however, the vigour imparted to the government by the genius of Chengíz Khan continued to operate. Chaghatái, his son, resided chiefly in the desert at his own head-quarters of Bish-báligh, and sometimes with his brother Oktái at Karakorum. Much of the business of government was conducted by the Minister Kárachár-Nevián or Nuián; by whose counsel later historians affirm that Chengíz, in his will, directed his son to be entirely guided. The immediate successors of Chaghatái continued to reside chiefly in the desert; but the ambition and discord so common among Asiatic, and among all princes, were not long of appearing. Within a century after Chaghatái's death, it had become much the custom for the Khans, instead of living in the desert among the tribes, to visit and linger in the rich and populous countries on the Sirr and the Amu, where they appear at last to have fallen into a state of thraldom in the hands of their ministers.

Down to the first Isan-bugha-Khan *, in spite of some disputes and civil wars, we find no distinct trace of a double succession in the Chaghatái dynasty. He, we are told, was called from Máwerannaher, where he then reigned, by the inhabitants of Kashgar, Yarkend, Alátásh, and by the Oighurs, who found no one among them of the posterity of Chaghatái Khan, who might fill the throne which was then vacant. This certainly

Division of the Khanship. A. H. 721. A.D. 1321.

* In the Taríkh Reshídi he is called Ais, or Isan-bugha; in the Shajrat, p. 378., and by Price (Mohammedan History, vol. iii. p. 7.), following the Kholáset-ul-Akhbár, Il, or Ail Khwája; by Sherfeddín, Petis's transl., tom. i. p. 26., Aimál; and by Abulgházi, "Aimal Khwája, who reigned in Máwerannaher under the title of Isan-bugha Khan," part v. c. 1 & 5. See also the note of the intelligent English translator, p. 167.

SECT. III. looks as if a division had already taken place; and as if, even then, different Khans had been acknowledged in different countries. However that may be, from this time forward, we find the Grand Khanship of the Chaghatái Khans broken up, and two rival or at least separate Khans, the one of whom governed in the country of the Moghuls and Káshgar, the other in Máwerannaher. The latter, who reigned in a civilised country that produced so many able writers, have been noticed by all the general historians of Persia, and a very short notice of them will suffice. The former, on the contrary, for a knowledge of whom we are almost entirely indebted to Mírza Haider, who was himself descended from them, have been nearly unknown, and a fuller account of their annals may be allowed.

Khans of Moghulistán, and of Máwerannaher.

Part First.—KHANS OF MOGHULISTÁN AND AMÍRS OF KÁSHGHAR.—THEIR SUCCESSION.—HISTORY OF YÚNIS KHAN AND HIS SONS.—TRANSACTIONS OF THE KHANS WITH THE THE MIRZAS OF MÁWERANNAHER.

Isan-bugha Khan. A. H. 721–730. A. D. 1321—1330.

ISAN-BUGHA KHAN did not survive many years his election as Grand Khan of the Moghuls.* Having died without issue, and none of the family of Chaghatái being left in Moghulistán, as the tribes of the desert still disdained to be subject to the titular Khans set up and pulled down at the will of a minister in Transoxiana, discord and disorder universally prevailed. The usual evils of anarchy were soon keenly felt and loudly deplored. But the men of the desert refused to acknowledge as Khákán any but a descendant of Chaghatái, and none of the race was to be found.

Interregnum.

* Isan-bugha seems to have been called from Máwerannaher about A. H. 721., and to have reigned in Moghulistán till about A. H. 730; but the chronology of the times is very uncertain.

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At that time Mír Yúlaji Doghlat was the ruler of Káshghar. He claimed to be hereditary Ulús-begi (lord of the tribe), under the Moghul Khans, and governed in his own right extensive dominions, reaching from the desert of Kobi to Ferghána.

The influence which he enjoyed from the extent of his power, was increased by the energy of his character. Deploring the anarchy that prevailed since the death of Isan-bugha, he resolved that the masnad should not remain vacant; and in due time produced a youth, whom he announced as the son of Isan-bugha, and a lineal descendant of Chaghatái.

Story of Toghlak-Taimur.

The whole story deserves to be related, as illustrative of Moghul manners. The chief wife of Isan-bugha was Sátelmish Khátún, by whom he had no children. Among his female slaves was one Mánselik, with whom he cohabited. It happened that he was obliged to join the army in an expedition which kept him in the field for a considerable time. By the usages of the Moghuls, the chief wife has, it seems, the entire management of the household, and, as part of it, the allotment and disposal of her husband's women, keeping back and giving him such as she pleases, and disposing of them with absolute authority. Discovering that Mánselik was with child, and envious of her good fortune, she gave her in marriage to one Shiráwal Dokhtúi, a Moghul, enjoining him to carry her off to his own country.

The Khan, on his return from the expedition, inquired for Mánselik, and was told by Sátelmish that she had been given away. "The woman was with child by me," said the Khan, much vexed; but as his wife had in no respect acted in opposition to the customs of the tribe, he smothered his regret, and said nothing more.

On his death, when the Moghul tribes fell into the state of anarchy that has been mentioned, Amír Yúlaji, the Ulús-begi, at length, determined that a Khan should be found, dispatched one of his trusty adherents to

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seek out Shiráwal, and to investigate the alleged story of Mánselik's pregnancy; commanding him, if her issue had proved a son, to steal him away, and bring him off. The Amír gave his envoy three hundred goats, that he might live upon their milk in his dreary pilgrimage; or, if reduced to necessity, kill them for his support. His messenger had ranged all over Moghulistán, without having discovered the man of whom he was in quest, and his flock was reduced to a single goat, when, in a sequestered district, he fortunately reached the encampment of Shiráwal. He found that Mánselik's child by the Khan had proved a son; and that since then she had had another by her new husband. The Khan's son, who must by this time have reached his eighteenth year, he contrived to steal away, and carry to Aksú. On his way to that city, the precious youth, in passing a narrow mountain road, slipped down a precipice of ice, from which, with much toil and danger, he was at length extricated, and delivered to Yúlaji. By him he was speedily proclaimed Khan, and was joyfully acknowledged in Moghulistán or Jetteh, as well as in Káshghar, by the style of Toghlak-Taimur Khan.

who is proclaimed Khan.
A. H. 748.
A. D. 1347.

Becomes a Moslem,
A. H. 754.
A. D. 1353.
A. H. 761—3.
A. D. 1360—2.

The new Khan, some years after, became a convert to the Musulman faith, which he succeeded in introducing into a part of his dominions. He twice invaded and overran Máwerannaher, in which he established his son Elías Khan. On the death of Yúlaji, to whom he owed the masnad, and who, as Ulús-begi, had exercised much of the authority of the government, Toghlak-Taimur, from gratitude or policy, bestowed the father's office on his son Amír Khodáidád, then only seven years of age. Against this nomination Kamreddín, a younger brother of Yúlaji, remonstrated, claiming the office as belonging of right to him and not to his nephew, by the usages of the Moghuls. The Khan persisted in supporting his appointment, as it had been made; though he acknowledged, that, had the claim been earlier preferred,

it would not have been rejected. Kamreddín, compelled to conceal his indignation, inwardly brooded over his revenge.

Is succeeded by Eliás Khwaja. A. H. 765. A. D. 1364.

Toghlak-Taimur Khan, who died soon after, was succeeded by his son Elías Khwája Khan, who was at that time conducting the war in Transoxiana, where he was opposed by a combination of chiefs of the country, headed by Mír Husein and by the illustrious Mír Taimur. The Khan, after combating the confederacy with various success, was at last defeated and compelled to take refuge in the desert of Jetteh, where, after a short reign of about two years, he was basely assassinated by Kamreddín, who in one day put to death eighteen males of the family of the Khan, resolved, if possible, to exterminate the very race: after which, though not a descendant of Chaghatái or of Chengíz, he assumed the style of Khan, and the government of the country.*

Usurpation of Kamreddín.

Division of the Moghul Tribes.

These violent proceedings were viewed with horror and alarm by the Amírs of the Moghuls, who had an hereditary reverence for the family of the great conqueror. Discord followed. Many of the Moghul tribes refused to acknowledge the usurper, and others were even led to join Mír Taimur, when that warrior, after a long and varied course of discomfiture and success, having at length overcome all his early enemies and reduced Transoxiana under his power, made six expeditions into the Jetteh country against Kamreddín.† He overran both Moghulistán and Káshghar to their

Invasions of Taimur.

* Sherfeddín, vol. i. pp. 1—26.; Miles's Shajrat, pp. 378—380.; Abulghazi, pt. v. c. v.; Deguignes, vol. iv. p. 317.

† Sherfeddín, vol. i. pp. 220—364.; Tar. Resh. ff. 28—41.; Abulghazi, pt. v. c. v. The Desht, or Desert, of Jetteh, is often mentioned in the history of the Persians and Tartars as late as the time of Taimur, and the name is applied to the country north of Ferghána and Káshghar, in that age inhabited chiefly by the Moghuls. See Zefernáma, *passim.* The name, which was probably derived from that of the Getæ and Messagetæ, who inhabited the country in ancient times, was retained probably long after these tribes had left it. It has been

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A.H. 768 —794. A.D. 1367 —1393.

farthest limits, and in the last campaign, Kamreddín, his armies having been routed and himself pursued over mountains and in forests like a wild beast, worn out with fatigue and disease, seems to have perished in a savage corner of the desert, where he had concealed himself, accompanied by only two attendants.

Death of Kamreddín.

Story of Khizer Khwája,

Some time before Amír Khodáidád was thus relieved from his powerful rival, he had gone in search of a lineal descendant of Chaghatái Khan, whom he might raise to the throne of the Khans, and in whose name he might govern the country. His story, which in some respects resembled that told by his father Yúlaji in nearly similar circumstances, was, that when Kamreddín put to death the family of the Khans, there was one son of Toghlak-Taimur who was still at the breast. Amír Khodáidad, aided by his mother, had concealed the child in Káshghar. In vain, it was said, did the usurper use every means to discover the boy, who, when twelve years of age, was conveyed to the hill-country between Káshghar and Badakhshán, then to the hills of Khoten, and finally to Sárígh-Oighur and Lob-Kánik, far in the east, where he remained for twelve years more. When Kamreddín's power was on the wane, the young man was brought back, was raised to the Khanship by Amír Khodáidád, under the style of Khizer Khwája Khan, and acknowledged by many of the tribes. After contending bravely against Taimur in the field, the Khan was fortunate enough to make peace with that conqueror; and this pacification he consolidated by giving Taimur his daughter in marriage.*

who becomes Khan.

A.H. 791. A.D. 1389.

made a question whether the Jats, so widely extended over the Penjáb, on the banks of the Indus, and in other parts of India, are descended

* Deguignes, in his chapter entitled "Les Mogols de Kashgar," after mentioning Toghlak-Taimur and his son Elías Khwája, and that Khodáidád placed Khizer Khwája on the throne, adds: "Les Rois de ce pays, descendent de ce dernier; mais leur histoire, et même leurs noms, ne nous sont pas connus." Hist. des Huns, tome iv. p. 337. D'Herbelot is equally at a loss. The

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Power of the Ulús-begi.

Khodáidád, while he affected to restore the ancient line, did not neglect to retain the real power of the government. He claimed, under various grants to himself and his ancestors, twelve privileges, which transferred to him the entire direction of affairs. By these he was constituted Hereditary Ulús-begi, or Director of the Tribe, with precedence over all others; he could nominate Amírs or Commanders of a Thousand, and dismiss them, without referring to the Khan; he was not to be liable to punishment till he had committed and been convicted of nine capital offences; and, finally, no order or firmán was to be valid to which he did not affix his seal, that of the Khan being to be afterwards placed above it. In this manner the Khan was as much as possible reduced to be a cypher in the hands of his minister; and Khodáidád boasted that, in his long reign of ninety years, he had made six Grand Khans.*

Muhammed Khan. Shír Muhammed Khan. Sultan Weis Khan.

Khizer Khwája Khan was succeeded as Grand Khan by his son Muhammed Khan; and he by his son Shír Muhammed Khan. The latter years of this last prince were disturbed by the ambition of his nephew Sultan Weis. He, having fled from court, and having collected in the desert a band of adventurous banditti, carried on

wish in some measure to supply this deficiency in the history of a race intimately connected with Báber, has perhaps made the account of the Khans of the Moghuls, and the Amírs of Kashghar, in this Introduction, extend farther than was strictly necessary. The materials are chiefly drawn from the Tarikhi Reshídi of Mirza Haider Doghlat, who founded his narrative on the oral traditions of the Moghuls which he carefully collected; and in the latter portion of the history on the information of his father and uncle, who were descended of the Amírs of Kashghar, and, by the female line, of the Khans of Moghulistan. The contemporary history of their times and of his own is extremely valuable. See Appendix B.

* These Grand Khans were, 1. Khizer Khwája; 2. Shumaa Jehán; 3. Nakhsh Jehán; 4. Muhammed Khan; 5. Shír Muhammed; and 6. Weis Khan. Tar. Resh. f. 50. The second, third, and fourth were sons of Khizer Khwája; the second and third are not mentioned in the regular succession of the Khans. They seem to have died before their father, in whose lifetime they may have possessed separate governments or khanships; or they may have been associated with him in the general government.

SECT. III. a predatory war with his uncle, on whose death he was elected Grand Khan. Being a prince of great energy, he assumed the management of his own affairs, and was not reconciled to Mír Khodáidád, who had adhered to his uncle. This quarrel with the overbearing Ulús-begi, seems to have made a permanent rupture in the Moghul tribe. Khodáidád, who had dependent on him at least twenty-four thousand families, finding himself hard pressed, called in Ulugh Beg Mirza to his aid from Samarkand. The allies were unable, with their united forces, to make any impression on the grand tribe; but Káshghar was delivered up to the Mirza by treachery, and continued in his possession about fourteen years.*

A.H. 821 or 824. A.D. 1418 or 1421.

His death; disputed succession.

In the course of the wars arising out of Ulugh Beg's invasion, Weis Khan was accidentally slain by an arrow discharged by one of his own men. His death was followed by new disturbances and dissensions. He had left two sons, Yúnis Khan and Isan-bugha Khan, the former the maternal grandfather of the emperor Báber, but then only thirteen years of age. It was probably a misfortune to Yúnis Khan that his mother was not a Chaghatái Moghul, but the daughter of an Amír of Kipchák. Parties were formed, some of the tribes adhering to the one brother, and some to the other. The great majority, however, favoured the younger of the brothers; and Yúnis Khan, though supported by Mír Khodáidád, found himself compelled to abandon Moghulistán. He was accompanied by thirty thousand families of Moghuls, under Irazan, a beg of the Tumán of the Khirás who were attached to Mír Khodáidád. As an elder sister of Yúnis Khan had some time before been betrothed to Abdalázíz Mírza, the son of Ulugh Beg, the two friendly chiefs, relying on this connec-

Yúnis Khan expelled by Isan-bugha.

* Tar. Resh. pp. 50 — 55. Khodáiadád at the age of ninety-seven (lunar years) made the pilgrimage of Mecca, and died at Medina in or after A.H. 850 — A.D. 1446.

tion, carried him to the territory of Samarkand, to solicit assistance from Ulugh Beg; while Isan-bugha Khan and his adherents remained in possession of the desert.

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Fate of his adherents.

Ulugh Beg heard, and not without alarm, of the approach of a numerous and tumultuous host, whose ancestors had so often overrun the rich plains of Transoxiana. He advanced as far as Dizak, north of Samarkand, to watch their movements, and met them with every profession of friendship and of readiness to espouse their cause. Jealous, however, of a power which might so easily be turned to his ruin and to that of his country, he determined to deprive them of the means of injuring him. For this purpose he arranged that the Moghuls should all be introduced into the castle of Dizak, in separate households, that their names might be regularly inrolled, so as to admit of their being properly furnished with provisions and pay. As they entered the castle without any suspicion, in small numbers and in succession, the chiefs were put to death, and all the others made prisoners, and scattered over the country. Yúnis Khan, with a fifth part of the spoil, was sent to Sháhrukh Mirza, the fourth son of Taimur, who then reigned in Khorasan. The Mirza, with the generosity of a refined and cultivated mind, placed him under the care of Mouléna Sherfeddín Ali Shirázi, the celebrated historian of Taimur, and one of the most eminent moralists and poets of his age. In his house Yúnis Khan remained at Yezd for twelve years, in useful retirement, improving himself in every liberal study. To him many of the Mouléna's verses are addressed. The misfortune of the Moghuls, and the massacre of so many chiefs, with the dispersion of their tribe, formed an era long remembered among them as "the calamity of Irazan." *

A.H. 832.
A.D. 1428-9

* Baber's Mem. p. 11.; Tár. Resh. ff. 53, 54.

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Isan-bugha, Khan of Moghulistán.

Meanwhile Ísan-bugha Khan, the younger brother and successful rival of Yúnis Khan, supported by the principal tribes of the Moghuls, was acknowledged, though still a boy, over the wide extent of the Chaghatái desert. When this power was somewhat settled, Mír Syed Ali, the grandson of Khodáidád and who had sided with the Khan, asked and received his permission to recover his family government of Káshghar from the hands of the generals of Ulugh-Beg. He was a man of great energy, who had adopted a different line of policy from his grandfather, having joined Sultan Weis when he roamed as a brigand in the desert, and married his sister. The efforts of Mír Syed Ali, in the course of three brilliant campaigns, were crowned with success; and he became master of Káshghar and its territory.

Separation of the Moghul Tribes.

The extreme youth of Isan-bugha Khan for some time did not admit of his taking much share in public affairs; but, as he grew up, an act of violence as cruel as it was imprudent, — the assassination of Taimur Oighur, a chief of note, the effect of some party intrigue,— spread universal horror and disgust among his adherents. With one consent the tribes abandoned him. Mír Syed Ali, his faithful friend, on hearing of his danger, hurried from Káshghar, and conveyed him from Moghulistán to Aksu, treating him with every mark of honour and respect. Meanwhile the tribes, no longer bound by one common tie, dispersed in all directions, each acting independently for itself. Some bent their course towards the Kalimáks on the east; others went westward to the frontier of Kipchák; one body even joined Abulkhair Khan, the potent ruler of the Uzbeks, who at that period still held the deserts from the Yáik to the Sirr. Some chiefs built forts on the borders of Andeján, Turkistán and Seirám, and commenced a regular system of predatory incursions into these flourishing provinces. The Konchi Amírs, and a few others, continued to wander as before in the deserts of Moghulistán. All

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was disunion and anarchy, and threatened the permanent dissolution of the Chaghatái Khanship.

Isan-bugha Khan, who now saw the full extent and the natural consequences of his crime, exerted every means in his power to evince his contrition, and to soothe the injured feelings of his subjects. He found means gradually to conciliate several of the heads of tribes, who, accepting his professions of regret, returned to his banner which they had unwillingly deserted.

Civil wars in Samarkand. A.H. 850–3. A.D. 1446–9.

The factions that prevailed in Transoxiana on the death of Sháhrúkh Mirza, and especially the civil wars between Ulugh Beg and his sons, which ended in his murder, were favourable to the Moghuls; as the employment thus furnished to the sovereigns of Samarkand at home, prevented them from thinking of any new attempt on the Khans, or their country. On the other hand, Isan-bugha, who had now in part recovered his strength, availing himself of the opportunity afforded by these troubles, entered Táshkend, Seirám, and the fruitful provinces that belonged to Samarkand north of the Jaxartes, with his shoals of Moghuls, plundered and laid them waste on every side, and then retreated to the desert, loaded with booty. When, however, some time afterwards, he repeated his invasion, he found Sultan Abusaíd Mírza, who in the interval had vanquished all his competitors, seated on the throne of Samarkand. No sooner did that active prince hear of the inroad, than, collecting a body of troops, he pursued the Khan in his retreat, and overtook him at Táráz.* The Moghuls, whose object was plunder and not war, fled without fighting; and the Sultan having expelled them, returned home, unable to retaliate. Sultan Abu-

Isan-bugha invades Táshkend,

A.H. 855; A.D. 1451.

is defeated by Abusaíd;

* Báber says that Abusaíd advanced beyond Yangi and gave Isan-bugha a severe defeat at a town in Moghulistán called Aspera. Mem. pp. 11, 12. Mirza Haider makes him overtake the Khan at Masíki, in books called Táráz, and says that the Moghuls fled without fighting. Tar. Resh. f. 57. Otrár is known by the names of Táráz, Yangi (or Yangi Kent), and, it would appear, of Masíki.

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renews his inroads.

said, having in the course of his successful wars conquered Khorásán, took up his residence at Herát. Isanbugha, encouraged by his absence from Samarkand, again entered his territories, invaded Andeján with a powerful force, and laid siege to the capital of that name. So numerous was his army that he is said to have inclosed the city with a triple line of troops, and to have run mines at once on every side of it. The town was taken; but the governor retired into the citadel, where he was soon glad to conclude a capitulation, by which he paid a heavy contribution for his safety. The Khan, after visiting the adjoining country, returned to his own deserts, but loaded with treasure, and driving multitudes of captives before him. "Down to the present day," says Haider Mirza, "many of the descendants of the people who were then made prisoners and carried off are still to be found in Káshghar, and are become perfect Moghuls." *

Abusaíd sets up Yúnis.

The news of this invasion was most unwelcome to Abusaíd, who was then in Khorásán preparing for an expedition against Irák. He was at a loss in what manner to deal with the Khan. If he were to advance into Moghulistán, he knew that his enemy, instead of meeting him in the field, would retreat into the most remote parts of the country, where it was impossible for the Sultan with his army to follow him; and that no sooner should he have commenced his retreat, than the Khan would follow close on his track, surround him with his swarms of horse, harass him in every march, carry off his stragglers and baggage, and disappear when he turned round to bring him to action. Abusaíd, eager as he was to march for Irák, could not leave behind so troublesome and so dangerous an enemy.

In this exigency the Sultan resolved to secure his

* Tar. Resh. f. 57.

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own dominions by giving Isan-bugha employment at home, and to raise up against him, among his own subjects, a rival or master. Yúnis Khan, the elder brother of Isan-bugha, after the death of Mouláma Sherefeddín Ali, had left Yezd, and travelled first to Tabríz, and afterwards to Shiráz, where for about fifteen years he remained in the service, first of Ibráhim Sultan Mirza, and then of Abdalla Mirza, the son and grandson of Sultan Sháhrúkh. Abusaíd now invited him to Herát, that he might set him up as Khan of the Moghuls; trusting that though eight and twenty years had elapsed since he left Moghulistán, such of the chiefs or tribes as were on bad terms with Isan-bugha would be glad to join his elder brother, and that thus a diversion would be produced, which could not fail to be favourable to the Mirza's interests. He probably did not wish either brother to gain a decided ascendency over the other. It might be more convenient for his views that Moghulistán should be distracted by parties, and kept in a state of combustion and weakness.*

When Yúnis arrived at Herát, he was received and entertained with great magnificence by Sultan Abusaíd, who acknowledged him as Grand Khan of the Moghuls, and entered into a treaty with him in that capacity. A grand festival was held on the occasion, in a stately kiosk or summer-palace in the Bagh-i-Zághán, where the Khan was introduced with much ceremony, and seated on a throne. The Sultan then addressed him in a long speech, in which he is said to have explained his views without disguise. He observed that when the great Taimur conquered the Khan of the Moghuls, many of his Amírs advised him to put an end to the dynasty of the Khans: that Taimur, however, seeing that some were partial to the old system, and having no wish to destroy it, raised Syurghatmish to the

Who comes to Herát.

* Tar. Resh. ff. 58—60.; Báber, p 11.

SECT. III. Khanship, issuing all firmans in his name, but keeping him entirely in his power; that on his death, Mahmúd Khan was made Khan in his place *; that down to the time of Ulugh Beg Mirza, there continued to be a Khan, but that his power was merely nominal: that, at this last period, the Khalifs and Khans who claimed superiority over Taimur Beg's family became extinct, and that now the Mirza was altogether independent; that he had called Yúnis Khan from a low estate to make him a prince; that the Khan must however renounce the old pretensions of the family, must call himself his friend, and comport himself as such; and that in future, the sovereign mandates should be issued in the dominions of the Sultan in his own name, and in the name of his descendants. To these conditions Yúnis agreed, and confirmed them with an oath; from this time therefore the Mirzas of Transoxiana were independent of the Chaghatái Khans in form, as they had long been in reality. All the Moghuls who were scattered over the Sultan's territories were now commanded to join Yúnis Khan, who soon after set out to recover his kingdom.

His agreement with Abusaíd.

His character.

Yúnis Khan had now reached the age of forty †; but, though a man of talents, the training which he had received in the last twenty-eight years of his life, while it made him an amiable and learned man, and earned

* Tar. Resh. ff. 58, 59. 123. The author of the Shajrat gives us the same information. "On the death of Syoorghunumush Khan, the great Ameer Timoor raised to the throne his son, Sultan Mahmood, and his name was written at the head of state-papers as long as the great Timoor lived, and to the period when Timoor departed this life, at the town of Otrar, on his expedition against Khutai, the *Khani* or sovereignty of Sultan Mahmood was indisputed and independent." Colonel Miles's Shajrat, p. 383. The account of the descendants of Chengíz Khan in the Shajrat, being taken from Ulugh Beg Mirza's work on the four Ulús or tribes, closes with Sultan Mahmúd. The Tar. Resh. f. 123., informs us, that these khans were styled emperors (padsháh), but were mere prisoners. It is to be noted, that all the khans alluded to by Abusaíd were those of Máwerannaher, not of Moghulistán.

† His age was forty-one lunar years.

for him the title of Ustád, or Doctor, in the refined society of Shiráz, was not equally fitted to make him popular or happy among the rude rangers of the desert. On entering Moghulistán, he was joined by several tribes who were disaffected to his brother, and especially by Mír Kerím-Berdi, who was a Doghlat, and by the Konchi and Begchak Moghuls. To strengthen his interest he married Ais-doulat Begum, the daughter of the Chief of the Kenchi Tumán, and the grandmother of Báber.* His followers soon formed a considerable body; but their chiefs had for so many years been accustomed to act for themselves as independent, that they yielded but a very imperfect obedience to their new ruler. Unable to command, he was compelled to use every art of conciliation, and to work upon them by such means as were in his power.

He re-enters the desert.

The two first years of his new reign present a varied scene of success and disaster. Encouraged by the numbers who joined his standard, he ventured, in the second year after his return, to advance against Káshgar, which was held by Amír Syed Ali, an able and popular prince, who, as we have seen, had adhered to his rival, but was now aged and unable to sit on horseback. Amír Syed shut himself up in the town, which Yúnis besieged. Isan-bugha, who was then at Yúldúz, the farthest eastern extremity of his dominions, on hearing of this attempt, collected his forces, and set out with sixty thousand men to the relief of the Amír. Such was his speed, that in eleven days he arrived, but attended by only six thousand, all the rest having fallen behind. He was joined by the Amír of Káshghar, with thirty thousand of his followers. A desperate

His attempt on Káshghar

* Ais-doulat Begum was the daughter of Shír Háji Beg, the greatest of the Saghiríchi Begs (probably a branch of the Konchi or Kochin). He was, on this occasion, seated along with her on a white felt, and with great pomp, proclaimed Khan by the tribes. Báber, p. 12. She is represented by Báber as a woman of great talents and influence.

SECT. III. battle was fought, about twelve miles from Káshghar, on the side of Aksú, where Yúnis Khan was completely defeated, and all his baggage, with his wife and eldest daughter, then at the breast, fell into the hands of the victor. The Amír entertained them honourably, and sent them back to the Khan. Yúnis, on this discomfiture, was deserted by the tribes that had joined him, but which now separated, each to consult for its own safety. Seeing himself thus deprived of all means of carrying on any active operations in Moghulistán, he left his family with their friends in the desert, and again repaired to Khorásán.*

defeated.

His distress.

To such distress was Yúnis Khan now reduced, that on his arrival at Herát, he did not possess the means of providing even the customary offering which in the East it is necessary to make on approaching a prince. In this distress, he prevailed upon one of the officers of his household to allow himself to be presented to the Sultan as a slave. Abusaíd, desirous to keep up the intestine wars in the desert, and wishing to inspire the Moghuls with some confidence in the Khan, bestowed on him the territory of Masíkhi, a small hill-country dependent on Andeján, and bordering on Táshkend, and sent him to renew the contest. On his taking leave, the faithful servant, whom he had presented to the Sultan, finding himself left alone in a foreign land, was no longer able to repress his feelings, but broke out into loud lamentations. The Sultan, who inquired what was the cause of the man's distress, on discovering the truth, caused the honest Moghul to be properly accoutred, armed, and mounted, and sent him to follow his master.†

Death of Mír Syed, A.H. 862, A.D. 1458,

It happened fortunately for the Khan that Mír Syed Ali of Káshghar died soon after his return; and that about four years afterwards Isan-bugha also died, and

* Tar. Resh. f. 60. † Ibid. f. 61.

was succeeded by his son Dost Muhammed Khan, a man of a violent and imprudent character. Of the two sons of the Amír of Káshghar, the one sided with Dost Muhammed, and the other, of course, with Yúnis Khan, who, having been previously joined by many of his former adherents, and by some Moghul tribes, now became more powerful than he had yet been. He moved eastward, and several times entered Káshghar, being fond, we are told, of cities and of cultivated countries, and of living in houses; but the murmurs of the tribes who disliked and shunned all towns and settled habitations, preferring to dwell under tents, to live the free life and to breathe the free air of the desert, compelled him as often to retire back into Moghulistán. Dost Muhammed Khan, his nephew and now his rival, reigned only four years. On his death, Yúnis Khan, being joined by the chief men who had hitherto adhered to his brother's party, became all-powerful. A few of the immediate followers of the family carried off Dost's son, Kepek Sultan, then a boy, and fled with him to Terfán, at the eastern extremity of the country. It was now the wish of Yúnis Khan to have taken up his residence at Aksú, "which compared with Moghulistán was something of a town," but he speedily found that if he indulged this taste, the tribesmen would go over in a body to his grand-nephew Kepek Sultan. Compelled by necessity therefore, he returned to the wilds of Moghulistán with all his followers.*

SECT. III.

and of Isanbugha, A.H. 866, A.D. 1462.

And of Dost Muhammed, A.D. 1465-6, A.H. 870.

Success of Yúnis Khan.

Just at this time occurred the disastrous expedition of Sultan Abusaíd Mirza into Irák, where he perished with his mighty army. Three of his sons succeeded him, in different kingdoms, in Máweránnaher; Sultan Ahmed Mirza in Samarkand; Sultan Mahmúd Mirza in Hissár, Kunduz and Badakhshán; and Sultan Umer-

Calamity of Irák; A.H. 873, A.D. 1468-9.

* Tar. Resh. ff. 61—64.

SECT. III. sheikh Mirza in Andeján and Ferghána. Yúnis Khan, in fulfilment of an engagement with Sultan Abusaíd, bestowed three of his daughters on these three Mirzas, with a view at once to strengthen the friendship between the two families, and to put an end to the enmity which had long subsisted between the Moghuls of the desert and the Chaghatáis of Máwerannaher.

Yúnis defeated by Kalimáks, A.H. 877, A.D. 1472–3.

Not very long after, in the course of A.H. 877, a Kalimák chief (expelled from his own country by intestine feuds), entered Moghulistán, on the east, with three hundred thousand followers. Defeated on the banks of the Ili, by the overwhelming force of these invaders, Yúnis Khan retreated westward to Turkistán, and passed the winter at Kara-Tokái. It was there that he was surprised by Bárúj Ughlan and his Uzbeks, who seized and plundered his camp, as has been mentioned, when he attacked them in turn, and inflicted on them an exemplary revenge. In the spring he moved to Táshkend. The governor of that province was Sheikh Jemáleddín Khar, nominally under the Sultan of Samarkand, but in the unsettled state of the country that followed Abusaíd's disaster in Irák, he yielded but an imperfect obedience to any superior. As Yúnis Khan approached Táshkend, the Sheikh came out in state with a numerous retinue, as if to meet and do him honour.* The Khan saw, with surprise, his own followers suddenly disappear from his train; nor was he much reassured when told that they were gone forward to receive Sheikh Jemál. Being soon left nearly alone, he was seized by his own people, at the command of the Sheikh, and thrown into prison, where he languished a whole twelvemonth.

Defeats Bárúj;

made prisoner by Sheikh Jemál, A.H. 878, A.D. 1473.

It appears that Yúnis Khan's Amírs, being discontented with him, had entered into a conspiracy with Sheikh Jemáleddín, to whom the whole Ulús of Moghuls sub-

* In "Istakbál," as it is called.

mitted as their chief. The Sheikh, to add insult to injury, bestowed Ais-doulat Begum, the Khan's wife, and mother of the betrothed wives of the Sultans of Samarkand and Ferghána, on one of his officers. The Begum, when this unseemly transfer was notified to her, uttered not a word. Her intended husband, arriving in the evening, entered the house; his attendants remaining without. The Begum's female slaves closed the doors behind him, and barred them within. They then fell upon the unhappy bridegroom and put him to death with their knives. In the morning his body was ignominiously cast out of the house. When Sheikh Jemáleddín sent to call the Begum to account for this murder, "I am the wife of Yúnis Khan," she replied, "and of him only. Sheikh Jemál has thought fit to give me to another. He knows whether this is in accordance with religion and law. *I* have killed the man; let Sheikh Jemál kill *me*, if he chooses." Jemál was loud in her praise, and allowed her to return with honour to her husband.

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Anecdote of Ais-doulat.

It was about a year after these transactions when Amír Abdal-kadús, with a small body of men, fell upon Sheikh Jemál, slew him, and brought his head to Yúnis Khan whom he released from his prison. All the Moghul chiefs who had joined the Sheikh now returned to their allegiance to the Khan. They protested to him that they had left him solely on account of his fondness for cities and cultivated countries, which to them were odious. The Khan promised that henceforward he would entirely give them up, and live and breathe in the pure air of the desert. As the Kalimáks had by this time returned to their own country, the Khan moved back with all his camp to the steppes of Moghulistán. Not long after his return, the servants of Kepek Sultan Ughlan, Dost Muhammed's son, who had been carried to Terfán, slew him and brought his head to Yúnis Khan. Though in a state of hostility with Kepek

Yúnis released.

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Sultan, the Khan was indignant at this act of treachery, and gave up the murderers to undergo the penalty of the Muhammedan law of retaliation. Yúnis Khan, thus relieved from all domestic enemies in the desert, remained in Moghulistán for several years, never even hinting a wish to visit any town; and, during that time, by his amiable manners and by his compliance with the usages of the tribes, succeeded in a very great degree in gaining their attachment. But though he thus became sole Khan of Moghulistán, the horde of the Moghuls never appears perfectly to have recovered that degree of unity, or the Khans that degree of power, which they had enjoyed before the death of Weis Khan and the calamity of Irazan. Habits of disunion and discord, long indulged, prepared them for new misfortunes.

Becomes sole Khan.

Some of the most important events of Yúnis Khan's later years, were his campaigns in Káshghar, and his transactions with his sons-in-law the Sultans of Maweran-naher. The former may be but briefly noticed, the latter are more nearly connected with the history of Samarkand.

Affairs of Káshghar,

Muhammed Haider Mirza, Doghlat, was the Amír of Káshghar, who had joined the party of Yúnis, and was protected by him. The Amír had married Jemák, the widow of his elder brother, to whom she had born a son called Ababeker. This young prince, aided by the intrigues of his mother, who completely directed her weak and uxorious husband, succeeded in wresting Yárkend from his uncle and stepfather. By his adventurous spirit and the unsparing prodigality with which he lavished on his followers whatever fell into his hands *, he soon attached to him a resolute band of chosen youths, drawn from the highest families in the

* When unprovided with the means of satisfying his followers, he sometimes gave up to them his tents, and the whole of his most valuable property, to be pillaged.

tribes. Aided by them, and with the sanction of the Amír himself, he took possession of Khoten under circumstances of the blackest treachery *: and, rendered bold by success, at length advanced to occupy Káshghar itself, the seat of the Amír's government. Twice did the Amír oppose him in the field, and twice did Ababeker, with a handful of resolute troops, defeat his numerous armies. The Amír, in his distress, applied to Yúnis Khan, who hastened to his succour with fifteen thousand men. The combined army of the Khan and Amír, amounting in all to forty-five thousand men, advanced towards Yárkend, the seat of Ababeker's power, but was met and defeated by that enterprising prince, with a force of little more than three thousand men. Next summer the Khan again advanced to the assistance of his ally, with sixty thousand of his Moghuls: but the combined army, amounting to ninety thousand, was once more completely routed by Ababeker, who relied chiefly on five thousand well-trained troops. The immediate result of this battle was the occupation of Káshghar by Ababeker. The Khan and the Amír fled to Aksu, where the Amír drew the Khan's younger son Sultan Ahmed into a conspiracy against his father, which was with some difficulty defeated. In spite of this perfidy of his ally Yúnis Khan was preparing to march anew, to restore the Amír to his dominions, when he was called away to protect Ferghána.†

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which is conquered by Ababeker.

A.H. 884, A.D. 1479.

A.H. 885, A.D. 1480.

Much of the latter part of Yúnis Khan's life was occupied by his transactions with his sons-in-law, the Sultans of Samarkand and Ferghána. On the present occasion he found the brothers in a state of mutual hostility, and Sultan Umersheikh apprehensive of seeing his territories invaded and overrun by his brother the Sultan of Samarkánd. As the Khan approached Ferghána, he was met by his son-in-law the Sultan of that

Yúnis Khan in Ferghána.

* Tar. Resh. ff. 56—70.

† Tar. Resh. ff. 56—70. 68—80.

SECT. III. kingdom, who assigned to him the little province of Ush, east of Andeján, for his quarters. The Khan laboured zealously to effect a reconciliation between the brothers; but, as he found it a work that required time, he prudently sent back the great body of Moghuls into the desert, under his eldest son. By his friendly intervention the intended invasion was prevented. At the end of winter, when the Khan returned into his own country, he left Muhammed Haider, the deposed Amír of Káshghar, in the government of Ush, promising to come back and rejoin him at the proper season. But this arrangement was not agreeable to Sultan Umersheikh, who, on the Khan's departure, divested the Amír of his authority. Muhammed Haider, unable to stay where he was, or to go to Moghulistán, repaired to Káshghar, flattering himself that Ababeker, who was at once his nephew and step-son, would grant him a favourable reception. Immediately on his arrival, however, he was thrown into prison, where he languished for a year; when, by a clemency very unusual with Ababeker, he was allowed to leave the country and proceed to Badakhshán. Thence he went to Samarkand, where he remained two years; and afterwards joined Yúnis Khan on that chief's earnest invitation, and was with him on his death-bed, assisting him by his skill in medicine, for which the Amír was celebrated in his own country. Ababeker Mirza was thus left in possession of Káshghar, with all its dependent provinces, which that able but blood-thirsty and unscrupulous tyrant ruled nearly fifty years, and continued to hold at the accession of Báber.*

Yúnis Khan was never sorry to have a pretext for lingering near the Sirr. He was particularly attached to Sultan Umersheikh Mirza, the father of Báber. They are represented as having lived together on the most familiar terms. The Khan sometimes carried the Sultan

* Tar. Resh. ff. 68—80. 193—195.

to Moghulistán to visit him, and entertained him for a month or two in his tents; and, in return, accompanied the young Sultan to Andeján, passing an equal space of time in his palace. Umersheikh, who was ambitious and restless, made every exertion, but in vain, to induce the Khan to assist him in the conquest of Samarkand. With his own inferior forces he repeatedly invaded that kingdom. His brother, Sultan Ahmed Mirza, retaliated by frequent invasions of Ferghána. To defeat these invasions Umersheikh, year after year, called in Yúnis Khan, assigning to him some portion of his dominions, in which he took up his residence during the winter with his household and immediate followers, while the great body of the Ulús remained with their flocks in the wide-spreading steppes of their country. On the return of spring, when the Khan visited Moghulistán, the Sultan resumed possession of his districts. This armed mediation of the Khan prevented the success of Sultan Ahmed's plans against Andeján.

On one occasion, however, a serious misunderstanding arose between the two friends. Umersheikh had given up to the Khan the province of Akhsi for his winter quarters. Sultan Ahmed Mirza, who was ready to invade the country, on hearing of the Khan's movements, desisted from his hostile intentions. Umersheikh, thus relieved from his apprehensions, was impatient that the Khan should withdraw from Akhsi, which was the principal district of his kingdom; and, the Khan delaying and putting off his departure from time to time, the Sultan at length, losing patience, advanced to expel him by force. All the Khan's attempts to soothe him proving ineffectual, a battle ensued at Tíka-sakaratha, when the Sultan was defeated, taken prisoner and brought in bonds before Yúnis Khan. The good old Khan rose as his son-in-law approached, advanced to meet him, made his bonds be removed, loaded him with presents, and set him at liberty; telling him to hasten straight

SECT. III. home to prevent such disturbances as might be expected to ensue from the news of his discomfiture and supposed captivity; and promised himself to follow without delay. The Khan then proceeded to send off such of the tribes as were still with him to Moghulistán, and soon after, with his private household and a few followers, set out for Andeján, where he spent two months with the Sultan in his palace, and conducted himself in so frank and friendly a manner that no trace of soreness was left in the mind of either.

Obeid's account of the Khan.

It was in the course of one of the many quarrels that arose between the sovereigns of Samarkand and Ferghána, that Khwája Nasíreddín Obeidulla, a holy man of great celebrity, was called in from Samarkand to mediate a treaty of peace between the Khan and Umersheikh on the one part, and Sultan Ahmed on the other, and was received with much distinction by them all. "I had heard," said he, in relating the circumstance, "that Yúnis Khan was a Moghul, and I concluded that he was a beardless Moghul, with the rude manners and deportment of an inhabitant of the desert. On the contrary, I found him a handsome man, with a fine bushy beard, of elegant address, most agreeable and refined manners and conversation, such as are very seldom to be met with in the most polished society." One happy consequence resulted from this meeting. The venerable Khwája addressed letters to all the Sultans around, with whom his influence was very great, to inform them that he had seen Yúnis Khan, the Moghul. "The followers of such a man," said he, "are not to be carried off as booty. They belong to Islam: and," continues our author, "from that time forward, in Máwerannaher and Khorásán, none bought or sold captive Moghuls, who previously had been purchased in the same way as all Káfirs (infidels) are." *

* Tar. Resh. ff. 66—68.

After the death of Sheikh Jemál, Sultan Ahmed Mirza of Samarkand had resumed possession of Táshkend and Seirám, which he made over to his brother Umersheikh (the father of Baber), who possessed them several years. On the occasion of a new quarrel between the brothers, however, Sultan Ahmed raised an army to recover these territories. Umersheikh, as usual, called in Yúnis Khan to his aid, and as the price of his alliance ceded Seirám to him. When the Khan entered the civilised country in which it lay, with the intention of taking up his winter quarters, a number of the Moghul tribes, always attached to the life of the desert, and jealous of their Khan's fondness for cities and agriculture, separated from his camp, deserted, and went home. The pertinacity with which Yúnis Khan so often went in the teeth of their predilections may seem inconsistent with his acknowledged talents; but, besides the natural influence of his learned education and early habits, he was affected by religious motives. His subjects were still in general pagans, or inclined to paganism; and his piety led him earnestly to desire that he could induce them to cultivate the ground, being firmly persuaded, says his historian, that until they settled and inhabited towns, he could not thoroughly introduce the Moslem faith.* Hence his repeated though ineffectual attempts to lead them to a more settled life. On the present occasion, the more refractory and resolute of those who adhered to their ancient faith and usages, and they seem to have been the great majority of the Moghuls, separated from him altogether, and returned into their deserts, carrying along with them, and putting at their head, his younger son, Sultan Ahmed Khan. But, as the extinction of his brother Isanbugha's family had now left Yúnis

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A. H. 879.
A. D. 1474.

A. H. 890.
A. D. 1485.
Secession of some Moghul tribes,

* Tar. Resh. f. 112. A similar observation has repeatedly been made by Christian missionaries.

SECT. III. Khan without a rival, this defection affected him less seriously than it would have done at an earlier period, as the ascendency of his own family in Moghulistán was still left secure.

That winter the Khan passed in Seirám. The army of Sultan Ahmed having moved from Samarkand to recover the disputed provinces, Yúnis Khan sent his eldest son Sultan Mahmúd, with thirty thousand men, that he might form a junction with Umersheik, who was on his march from Ferghána, at the head of fifteen thousand men, to attack the common enemy. When the three armies had approached near each other, and a bloody battle was on the eve of being fought, Khwája Nasíreddín Obeidulla, hastening from Samarkand, sent forward expresses to announce his approach. The three potentates, obedient to the voice of the saintly man, halted the moment the messengers reached them. The Khwája brought the princes together into one apartment, and sitting down along with them, mediated, or rather dictated, the conditions of a peace. Táshkend, as well as Seirám, was given up to the Khan by the consent of the hostile brothers; and for some years continued to be the usual residence of one branch of the Moghul Khans.

Táshkend and Seirám ceded to the Khan.

A.H. 892, A.D. 1496-7. Death of Yúnis Khan.

About two years after these events, Yúnis Khan died, at the age of seventy-four. None other of the Chághatái Khans had attained to that age, says the historian; nay, hardly any of them had attained to forty.* He was an accomplished, brave, and generous prince; but, in his later years, placed in a situation much at variance with the previous habits of his life.

His sons succeed;

On his death, his elder son, Sultan Mahmúd Khan, generally called in this history "the Elder Khan," was proclaimed his successor as Grand Khan, and reigned over the tribes which had entered Táshkend and Seirám,

* These are lunar years. Tar. Resh. ff. 68. 80. 110.

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or that dwelt in the neighbouring steppes; but his younger son, Sultan Ahmed Khan (called hereafter "the Younger Khan") continued to govern the tribes that ranged in the more distant and much more extensive wilds of Moghulistán, reaching far to the north and east.

Mahmúd Khan defeats the Sultan of Ferghána,

No sooner did the death of the Khan become known to the Sultans of Ferghána and Samarkand, than they hastened to recover what they had lost. The former having pushed on a considerable force under his most distinguished officers, succeeded in getting possession of Ushter, a strong fortress in Táshkend. The loss of the conciliating spirit of Yúnis Khan was now felt. Ushter was immediately afterwards attacked and stormed by the new Khan, and all the Sultan's brave adherents put to the sword. As they consisted of his best troops, this reverse entirely broke his strength, which never had been great.*

and of Samarkánd. A. H. 893.

Nor was the Sultan of Samarkand more successful. In the course of the following year he led an immense army, said to consist of no less than an hundred and fifty thousand men, to recover Táshkend, was met by the elder Khan on the Chirr, a river which passes Táshkend on its way to the Sirr, and there completely routed, crowds of his army being drowned in attempting to recross. Mahmúd, pursuing his advantage, took possession of the country of Turkistán, lower down the Iaxartes, which had been occupied by the Sultan of Samarkánd, for whom it was then held by Muhammed Mazíd Terkhán, that prince's maternal uncle.† The Terkhán was himself taken and kept as a prisoner, and was afterwards useful in negotiating a peace. The government of Turkistán was bestowed, as a reward for some important services, on Sháhi-Beg or Sheibáni Khan, who had now entered the service of the Khan.

Seizes Turkistán,

which he gives to Sheibáni.

* Tar. Resh. f. 81. Báber does not allude to this loss at Ushter.

† Báber's Mem. p. 21.; Tar. Resh. f. 80.

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The loss of Turkistán was not the only consequence of the disaster on the Chirr. When the news of it reached the Governor of Uratippa, in alarm, he gave up that valuable district to Umirsheikh Mírza of Ferghána, who continued to possess it till his death.

Consequent quarrel with the Kaizáks.

Sheibáni, now Governor of Túrkistán, gradually acquired a singular ascendency over the elder Khan, his patron; the natural influence of a powerful over a weak mind.* No sooner was he established in his government, than the scattered Uzbeks who were attached to the old dynasty, began to assemble from all quarters, under the banners of the grandson of their ancient chief. The patronage thus afforded by the Khan to the family of their mortal foe, led to keen remonstrances on the part of the sons of Gírái Khan and Jáni Beg Khan, the founders of the new confederacy of the Kaizák-Uzbeks. The Moghuls and Kaizáks had always hitherto been connected as friends and allies, the Kaizáks having received from the Moghuls a tract of their country, when they originally fled from the oppression of Abulkhair Khan and renounced his government. The Kaizáks now complained, that, to bestow Turkistán on Sheibáni Khan, their hereditary enemy, was bringing him into direct collision with them. This quarrel produced a rupture, which terminated in a war between the Kaizáks and Moghuls, in the course of which Mahmúd (the elder Khan) suffered two great defeats. These discomfitures of the Khan were, however, somewhat connected with another part of the internal policy of his government. "Yúnis Khan," says the historian, "had always been the khan of the great chiefs. Men who succeed to power without any effort frequently do not attend to, or do not know the worth of men of merit; nay, they vainly imagine that any whom they think fit to patronise or favour thereby

Mahmúd defeated.

Alleged cause.

* Báber's Mem. pp. 9, 10.

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become men of worth. In conformity with this pernicious maxim, the new Khan, forsaking his father's policy, protected and patronised persons of low degree, who constantly employed themselves in undermining and subverting the old and dignified chiefs; so that, at last, the Khan proceeded to put to death five great Amírs, who were heads of departments, and extirpated their families, placing five others of low rank in their places. When the differences arose between the Khan and the Kaizák Uzbeks, on the subject of Sheibáni, and went on till they ended in war, these five mean creatures were his ministers. Hence," continues the historian, "defeat ensued; and the fame of the Khan and the terror of his name, which had settled on the hearts of the Sultans around, through the exertions of their predecessors in office, were entirely dissipated." * But the power of Sheibáni continued to increase, and he daily became more and more independent in his government of Turkistán.

Sultan Ahmed Khan of Moghulistán, A. H. 890. A. D. 1485.

The younger Khan, who ruled in eastern Moghulistán, was a man of much greater energy and capacity than his brother. When in his father's lifetime he retreated into the desert from Tashkend, accompanied by the discontented Moghuls, his first and most earnest concern was to reduce the power of the heads of tribes, by whom his father's plans had often been thwarted. To this task he devoted himself for ten years; in the course of which time he attained his purpose, by weakening some and destroying others. In the prosecution of this design he made many long and rapid marches, and fought many bloody battles; and it was only by his uncommon bodily strength and prowess, and by his skill in the management of his sabre, that he escaped, though not unwounded, from the attempts made by the indignant and refractory chieftains to assassinate him. In the end, however, he overcame every opposition, and

His character.

* Tar. Resh. f. 83.

SECT. III. was implicitly obeyed by all. He made successful inroads on the Infidel Kalimáks, whom he defeated in two bloody battles, which earned for him the name of Ilachi Khan, signifying in their language "the slaughtering Khan," a designation by which he was ever after popularly known. When his brother Mahmúd (the elder Khan) was defeated by the Kaizák Uzbeks, Ahmed marched to his assistance, invaded their territory, thrice drove them from the field, and plundered their country. He kept Moghulistán in such order, we are told, that, for the extent of seven or eight months' journey, not a Kalimák or Kaizak dared to set foot on his territory.*

Such was the state of Moghulistán, and its Khans, on the accession of Báber.

Part Second. CHAGHATÁI KHANS OF MÁWERANNAHER. THEIR DECLINE AND EXTINCTION.

Khanship divided. A. H. 721, A.D. 1321. We have seen that the Chaghatái Empire came to be divided into two great parts, Moghulistán and Máwerannaher, from the time of the first Isan-bugha, if not earlier. The history of the Khans of Moghulistán we have briefly traced. Máwerannaher. The territory lying between the Sirr and the Hazára mountains, with its inhabitants, more particularly and almost exclusively acquired the name of Chaghatái; a name afterwards still farther restricted to the portion of that territory lying beyond the Amu. The earlier succession of the Khans of Máwerannaher was troubled and uncertain; the strongest proof of which is, that, after Isan-bugha's departure for Moghulistán, of the ten who occur between him and Kásán A.D. 1321-33. Sultan, from A. H. 721 to A. H. 733, in the short space of twelve years, two are not of the Chaghatái line, (one

* Tar. Resh. ff. 84—86.; and Báber's Memoirs.

being descended of Tuli and one of Oktái,) while the names of four are not contained in the lists of several historians of the dynasty. SECT. III.

Kázán Sultan Khan, who reigned about fourteen years, was the last of the Khans of Máwerannaher who was not a mere puppet in the hands of the Minister. Having put to death several Amírs and Núiáns, his tyranny or severity excited revolt among the chiefs of the different districts of his dominions. Mír Kazaghan, the head of a Moghul tribe settled in Khutlán on the Amu, was placed at the head of the confederated insurgents; and, after a war carried on with various success, Kázán Khan fell in battle, about a hundred and four years after the death of Chaghatái. By these events the power of the Khans of Máwerannaher received a fatal blow. "After him," says Abulghazi Khan, "there were indeed other khans in that country, but they were such as only bore the name of Khan without having the power, each head of a tribe assuming the liberty of doing what he pleased, and obeying the Khan as much as he thought fit." *

Kázán Khan, A. H. 733, A. D. 1332-3.

His death, A. H. 747, A.D. 1346.

It is unnecessary to follow the series of Chaghatái Khans who succeeded, princes possessed of no real authority, employed merely to sanction the acts of ambitious ministers, and most of them raised to the throne and dragged down and murdered, as state policy or the minister's caprice happened to suggest. Transoxiana fell into a state of anarchy, and to the calamity of intestine war was added that of Tartar invasion from the north. From all of these evils it was relieved by the final success of the great Taimur; who, having overcome all his competitors, reduced the country to order, and ruled with uncontrolled power. He retained, however, the still venerated name and dignity of the Khans;

Titular Khans.

* Abulghazi, Hist. Gen. pt. v. c. ii. A list of the Chaghatái Khans of Máwerannaher, who succeeded Kázán Khan, is given in Appendix C.

SECT. III. though, for whatever cause, he changed the family; instead of a descendant of Chaghatái setting up one Syurghatmish, of the race of Oktái Khan, in whose name as Khákán or Grand Khan, and not in that of Taimur, all edicts and commissions were issued. Though this deference was paid to ancient usage, the Khan was carefully deprived of all real authority, and his office was a mere name. Syurghatmish dying in the lifetime of Taimur, the title was bestowed on his son Sultan Mahmúd Khan, who has acquired a place in history from being the person by whom the Ottoman emperor, Bajazet Ilderim, was made prisoner at the great battle of Angora. Sultan Mahmúd appears to have held the dignity of Khan as long as Taimur lived. The future succession is uncertain. Tumán Kutluk Ughlan is said to have succeeded Sultan Mahmúd. But with them the Grand Khans acknowledged in Máwerannaher probably ended. In the time of Ulugh Beg Mirza, Taimur's grandson, the monarchs of Samarkand began to issue firmans in their own name. Though the names of Toghlak-Taimur and of his son Elias Khwája, Khans of Moghulistán, are found in the list of Chaghatái Khans contemporary with Taimur, these princes were never recognised to the south of the Sirr, except for a brief period of four or five years, when their armies were in the temporary possession of the country.*

Their extinction.

When the dynasty of the Chaghatái Khans became extinguished in Máwerannaher, it was succeeded by that of Taimur; to whom, down to the present day, the monarchs of the East delight to trace up their origin.

* The principal authorities for this period are Sherfeddín, the Shajrat, Abulghazi, and Deguignes.

SECTION FOURTH.

NEW TÚRKI DYNASTY OF MÍR TAIMUR.—HIS CONQUESTS.—SHÁRÚKH AND ULUGH BEG MIRZAS.—ABUSAÍD MIRZA.—HIS DEATH.—DIVISION OF HIS DOMINIONS. — UMERSHEIKH MIRZA, KING OF FERGHÁNA. — HIS DEATH. — SUCCESSION OF BÁBER.

SECT. IV.

Dynasty of Mír Taimur.

TAIMUR BEG, the founder of a new dynasty, was born in Transoxiana, at Shehr-sebz, or Kesh, thirty miles south of Samarkand, on the 25 Shábán A. H. 736 (A. D. 1336, April 9.).* He was the son of the Chief of the Birlás, a tribe of the purest Mongol origin, but the scattered individuals of which, from long residence in Túrki countries, had become Túrks in manners and language. His extraction, like that of all other great monarchs, has been traced back into fabulous times. As Chengíz Khan was the conqueror whose family for a century and a half had given rulers to all the principal countries of Tartary and Persia, a connection with it was courted as a mark of dignity and importance; and a pedigree connecting him with that family was easily discovered for the successful warrior. The period of time which had elapsed between Chengíz Khan and Taimur was too short, and the descendants of the great conqueror were too well known, to admit of any claim on the part of Taimur to a direct descent from him. But flattery found their common ancestor in the holy Alankáwa, and Taimur could claim as well as Chengíz, the honour of a heavenly descent. Whether he really did so, or whether the claim was made for

His origin.

* Abulghazi, pt. v. c. III. and IV.

SECT. IV.

Claim to be Hereditary Prime Minister.

him at a later date, is not very clear. He certainly, however, if the memoirs ascribed to him are authentic, did claim to be of the same family as Chengíz, and even to have pretensions to be hereditary Prime Minister of the dynasty.

The Altamghá of Tumana Khan.

The story was that Tumana, one of the ancestors of Chengíz, had twin sons, Kábul and Kájuli. The eldest one night dreamed that he saw a blazing star between the heaven and earth, the brightness of which gradually increased till it obscured all the other stars, and filled the whole earth with its splendour. The younger brother had the same dream, only his star was smaller, and its effulgence less brilliant. Interpreters of dreams were consulted, who predicted that from the race of the elder a mighty monarch would arise, who should conquer the whole earth, which his posterity would rule for ages; and that the younger brother and his descendants were to be their prime ministers. To carry into effect this declared will of heaven, the two brothers, it is pretended, entered into a covenant, styled "the Altamghá of Tumana Khan;" by which it was agreed, that, while the princes of the elder branch of the family were to be invested with all the honours of the sovereignty, the active cares of the administration were to devolve on the family of the younger brother. From Kábul, the elder brother, was descended Chengíz; and from Kájuli, the younger, came Mír Taimur.* Káráchár Núian (or Nevian) was the Atálik

* The genealogy given in the Jami-it-towáríkh and the Moiz-ul-ansab (Hist. des Mongols, p. 679.) differs in its earlier stages from that in Abulghazi, Hist. Gen. pt. IV. c. xv. The dream, as related in the Shajrat-ul-Atrak, is much more specific and more minutely prophetic, pp. 55—57.; see also, pp. 353. 367, 368. The more important question, regarding the grants of the Visiership to Taimur's family, is not free from difficulty. It is not clear when they are first mentioned, and there seem even to be discordant claims. In Taimur's Institute, as published by White, Taimur states that the agreement between Kábul Khan and Kájuli Beháder was shown to him by Toghlak Taimur himself, pp. 22—25. This is the more singular as we have already seen that a claim

SECT. IV.

or Minister of Chengíz, during his minority; in pursuance, it is asserted, of this ancient compact, which Chengíz afterwards renewed. That prince is said to have left Káráchár Núian as Prime Minister to his son Chaghatái Khan, who, on his part, at his death also committed to that able politician the execution of his will and the care of his children. It seems more certain that an agreement in writing was entered into between Dáwa Chichan, a descendant of Chaghatái, when he became Grand Khan of the Moghuls, and Alengíz Núian, a grandson of Káráchár, confirming the two alleged prior contracts. From Káráchár, Taimur is said to have been the fifth in descent. At all events, to be born like Taimur of the family of the Chief of the noble tribe of Birlás, was no mean origin.

Its renewal.

But whatever was Taimur's descent, his high elevation was due to his own transcendent talents. His

Taímur's rise

similar to that made for Taimur, to be Prime Minister to the Khan, was set up for Yúlaji, the very person who had placed Toghlak Taimur on the throne. Yet Taimur was a Birlás, Yúlaji a Doghlat. Mirza Haider, a descendant of Yúlaji and a man of veracity, informs us that he saw the firmans that had been issued in favour of Khodáidád, confirming the previous grants made to his family by Chengíz Khan and Toghlak Taimur, in his father's possession; that they were dated in spring, in the year of the Hog, at Kunduz; and that they were destroyed in the confusions consequent on the wars with Sháhi Beg Khan. Tar. Resh. f. 42. It would seem, therefore, as if claims were made by different families. The diversity between the representations of Taimur and Mirza Haider is curious, and may be considered as casting some doubt on the authenticity of the Institutes and Túzúk of Taimur. Gibbon, with his usual critical acumen, remarks, on occasion of the term *Uzbek* used in them, as applied to the invaders of Transoxiana, under Toghlak Taimur and his son, that were he assured that it existed in the original (Túrki) Institutes, he would boldly pronounce them a forgery. It may be remarked that neither Báber, a descendant of Taimur, nor Mirza Haider, Baber's cousin, both of them princes who wrote commentaries of their own transactions, the one in Túrki, the other in Persian, ever allude to Taimur as the author of a similar work. It is not impossible that his Commentaries were known only in that branch of his family that reigned in Irák and the West. I throw out these remarks rather for the purpose of exciting investigation than of delivering an opinion. At the same time, a critical examination of the Túzúk and Institutes would be a valuable contribution to Oriental History.

SECT. IV.

first contests, like those of Chengíz Khan, had for their object to gain the direction of his own tribe, which, after many vicissitudes of fortune, he attained; and, following up his success, after long and painful exertions he became the undisputed ruler of all Máweran-

and conquests

naher, and had the glory of restoring to peace and to prosperity its various provinces, which had long been a prey to anarchy. After this success at home, he led his victorious troops not only into the deserts of Kipchák and of Moghulistán, but through the richest provinces of Asia, which one after another he reduced under his power, from the Dardanelles to Delhi; and left at his death one of the greatest empires the world ever saw. The troops by which he effected his conquests were chiefly drawn from the Túrki tribes beyond the Oxus.

His death, A. H. 807, A. D. 1405

The history of Taimur and his earlier descendants is well known. It is only necessary for the present purpose to follow the history of the province of Máwerannaher. Soon after Taimur's death, his mighty empire was divided into many separate kingdoms. Máwerannaher became the portion of his son Sháhrúkh Mirza, who long held it. Taimur's third son, Mirza

Mirza Miránshah his third son

Miránshah, from whom Báber was descended, had for his share Azerbáiján, Syria, and Irák. He lived chiefly at Tabríz, the climate of which suited his constitution. But he fell, not long after his father's death, in a battle with Yusef, the chief of a Turkoman horde, near Tabríz.

Mirza Sultan Muhammed,

Mirza Miránshah's eldest son, Mirza Sultan Muhammed, at the time of his father's death was residing in Samarkand, where he was treated with great kindness by his uncle Sháhrúkh Mirza, and by that prince's son Ulugh Beg Mirza, more celebrated for his encouragement of science, and especially for the Astronomical Tables constructed under his patronage, than for his extensive dominions. Mirza Sultan Muhammed

SECT. IV.

Sultan Abusaíd Mirza,

does not appear to have taken any active part in public life. When visited on his death-bed by his cousin Ulugh Beg, he took his son Abusaíd's hand, and placing it in that of Ulugh Beg, recommended the young man to his protection. The trust thus committed to him, Ulugh Beg faithfully fulfilled; and Abusaíd, for some years, served him with diligence and affection. But when one of the sons of Ulugh Beg rebelled, and his father marched from Samarkand to chastise him, Abusaíd Mirza, led by a guilty ambition, having secretly formed a party, occupied that capital. Ulugh Beg, hurrying back to quell this unlooked-for revolt, was followed and defeated by his rebellious son, by whose order he was soon after murdered, though the decree for his execution is said to have borne the name of the titular Grand-Khan.* The parricide next defeated Abusaíd and made him prisoner, yet survived but a short time, and was murdered in his turn. The young captive being released from custody, after various reverses of fortune, joined Abulkhair Khan in the wilds of Kipchák, and induced him to lead a body of his Uzbeks into Máweránnaher. Escaping from the Khan's camp, after a victory gained by the Uzbeks near Samarkand, Abusaíd suddenly entered that capital, as has been mentioned, and was received with acclamations of joy by the inhabitants, who above all things dreaded the entrance of the barbarians, and gladly raised him to the throne.† In the course of an active and vigorous reign, he not only subdued Máwerannaher, but extended his kingdom over Khorásán as far as Mekrán and the Indus. But having engaged in an expedition into Azerbáiján, to support one tribe of Turkomans against Uzan Hasan the chief of another, who aimed at subjugating the province, he was sur-

A. H. 853. A. D. 1449.

* This was probably one of the last instances, perhaps the very last, in which the Grand Khan's name was employed.

† See before, pp. 29. and 47.

SECT. IV.

His death, A.H. 873, A.D. 1469.

rounded by that chieftain's army in the defiles of the mountains near Ardebíl, and perished with the greater part of his immense host. This event formed an era that long continued to be remembered as "the calamity of Irák."

Division of his dominions.

On the death of this powerful prince, the grandfather of Báber, his extensive dominions fell to pieces, and were occupied partly by his sons and partly by strangers. Of his sons, four became independent princes. The eldest, Sultan Ahmed Mirza, became sovereign of Samarkand and Bokhára; Sultan Mahmúd Mirza, his third son, gained possession of the provinces lying between the Hindu-kúsh and Asfera mountains, a tract comprising Badakshán, Khutlán, Turmez, and Hisár-shadmán; his fourth son, Umersheikh Mirza, the father of Baber, continued to rule the small kingdom of Ferghána or Andeján, lying on both sides of the upper course of the Sirr, which he had governed in his father's lifetime. A younger son, Ulugh Beg Mirza, retained possession of Kábul and Ghazni, which also had been given him by his father. The rich country of Khorásán, after a long series of revolutions, was at length conquered and enjoyed in peace by Sultan Husein Mirza, Baikera, also a descendant of Taimur, the greatest prince of his time, and an eminent patron of learning and learned men, as well as of all the fine arts.

Ferghána; Sultan Umersheik Mirza.

Sultan Umersheikh Mirza, Báber's father, had received the little country of Ferghána from his father in early life. He was, as we have seen, of an ambitious, restless disposition; and made repeated attempts to conquer Samarkand, the kingdom of his eldest brother, who in return as often invaded his dominions. Both married daughters of Yunis Khan, the Grand Khan of the Moghuls, who on different occasions marched to the assistance of Umersheikh, his favourite son-in-law, and mediated a peace between the brothers. Besides Ferghána, the Mirza for some time possessed the fruitful

A.H. 890, A.D. 1485.

provinces of Táshkend and Seirám, which passed from him into the hands of the Moghul Khans. He also held for a short time Shahrokhía; and when Sultan Ahmed Mirza suffered his great defeat on the Chirr, the governor of Uratippa surrendered that place to Umersheikh, who kept it till his death.

SECT. IV.

A.H. 893, A.D. 1488.

The Sultan had long reigned in his little kingdom, when, in A.H. 899, Sultan Mahmúd, the Khan of the Moghuls, and Sultan Ahmed Mirza, the King of Samarkand, who had taken umbrage at some part of his conduct, entered into a confederacy to deprive him of his dominions; and cemented their union by the marriage of the Khan with a daughter of the Mirza. The more effectually to carry their purpose into effect, it was concerted that the Khan should enter Ferghána on the north and seize the provinces beyond the river; while the Mirza was to enter the kingdom from the south and seize those on the left bank of the river. Accordingly, Mahmúd, advancing from Táshend with a large army of his Moghuls, penetrated into Akhsi, the chief of the northern provinces; and the Mirza at the same time marching from Samarkand, took the direction of Andeján, the capital of the provinces of the south.

A.H. 899, A.D. 1494.

His dominions invaded.

It was at this crisis, when his country was a prey to invasion, that Sultan Umersheikh Mirza was carried off by an unforeseen accident. His palace stood on an eminence in the castle of Akhsi. Like many princes of the age, he amused himself with training tame pigeons. Happening one day to go into a pigeon-house that was constructed within the palace, on the edge of a steep cliff overhanging the river below, the foundation gave way, he was precipitated down the cliff along with the building, and killed on the spot. This event happened in the thirty-seventh or thirty-eighth year of his age, when he had reigned about twenty-six years, reckoning

His death;

SECT. IV. from his father's death.* He is described by his son as a brave, good-humoured prince, of a sweet temper, elegant and refined in his manners and conversation, fond of letters and remarkable for his justice. In his external policy he was ambitious, restless, and unsteady. He left three sons, Báber Mirza, by Kutluk-nigár Khanum, the second daughter of Yunis Khan; Jehángír Mirza, by Fátima Sultan, the daughter of a chief of the Moghul Tumáns; and Násir Mirza by Umeid of Andeján, a concubine. He had five daughters, two of them posthumous.

his children

It may not be unnecessary to mention again in this place what were the states that bordered upon Ferghána, and what princes reigned in them at this period.

Neighbouring princes.

Moghuls.

The Ulús of Moghuls on the Sirr, had for its grand Khan, Sultan Mahmúd Khan, the eldest son of Yúnis Khan, and Báber's maternal uncle. Besides the provinces of Táshkend, Seirám and Shahrokhía, he possessed some extent of territory in the desert.

But the wide desert of Moghulistán was held by Sultan Ahmed Khan, Mahmúd's younger brother; and the tribes that acknowledged him, fed their flocks in a range of country, three months' journey in extent, reaching from Tashkend to Yeldúz.

Older Uzbeks.

Of the territory of Júji Khan, the Desht-Kipchák, the eastern part was held by the Uzbeks. There had been a rupture in their tribes. On the defeat and death of Abulkhair Khan, the power of his family was broken. His son Bárúj Ughlán had soon after shared a fate similar to that of his father; and his grandson Sháhi Beg Khan, had been compelled to quit the desert, and after having lived as a refugee at Bokhára, was now in Turkistán, which he held under the protection of Sultan Mahmúd Khan, and strengthened himself by collecting the scattered remnants of the tribe that continued to be

* A. H. 899, Ramzan 4 (A. D. 1494, June 9.). He was thirty-nine lunar years old.

attached to his family, and such other Uzbeks as were discontented with their new rulers. SECT. IV.

Kaizák Uzbeks.

The other branch of the Uzbeks, (who got the name of Kaizák Uzbeks,) from having been originally a small predatory body, had by the course of events become the most powerful division of the two; and occupied the entire desert north of Turkistán as far as the Yáik. Their Khan at this period was Berendúk Khan, the son of Gerái. That country, by the writers of the time, is often called Uzbekistán.

Káshghar.

Káshghar was governed by Ababeker Mirza, a prince of great courage, but infamous for his tyranny and cruelty.

Samarkand.

In Máwerannaher; Samarkand and Bokhára, with Shehr-sebz and Karshi, were held by Sultan Ahmed Mirza, Umersheikh's elder brother.

Hisár.

Hisár, Khutlán, Badakhskán, and Kunduz were in the possession of Sultan Mahmúd Mirza, the immediate elder brother of Umersheikh.

The three brothers, Ahmed, Mahmúd, and Umersheikh, had each married a daughter of Yúnis Khan.

Kábul.

The more distant kingdoms of Kábul and Ghazni continued to be held by Sultan Ulugh Mirza, a fourth brother of the Mirzas.

Khorásán.

Khorásán obeyed Sultan Husein Mirza Baikera, who at that time was by far the most powerful of the princes of the House of Taimur. His capital was Herát, which for the space of nearly half a century was the most magnificent city of the East, and celebrated not merely for the splendour and dignity of its Court, the architectural beauty of its mosques, tombs, colleges, and palaces, but as being the resort of the greatest Divines, philosophers, poets, and historians of the age, who received the most liberal patronage from the Khákán and his Amírs.*

* The materials for this chapter are supplied by the Rozet-us-Sefa, the Taríkhi Reshídi, and Báber's Memoirs.

BOOK FIRST.

FROM BÁBER'S ACCESSION TO HIS FIRST EXPULSION FROM MÁWERANNAHER.

CHAPTER FIRST.

CONQUEST AND LOSS OF SAMARKAND.—LOSS AND RECOVERY OF ANDEJÁN.

ACCESSION OF BÁBER.—STATE OF FERGHÁNA WHICH IS ATTACKED ON ALL SIDES.—INVADERS REPELLED.—DEATH OF SULTAN AHMED OF SAMARKAND, AND OF SULTAN MAHMÚD, HIS BROTHER.—REVOLUTIONS OF THAT COUNTRY.—BÁBER INVADES IT.—HE BLOCKADES THE CAPITAL.—HUTS HIS ARMY IN WINTER QUARTERS.—IS ATTACKED BY SHEIBÁNI KHAN.—TAKES SAMARKAND.—REVOLT IN FERGHÁNA, IN FAVOUR OF HIS BROTHER JEHÁNGÍR.—BÁBER MARCHES TO QUELL IT.—LOSES SAMARKAND AND ANDEJÁN.—HIS DISTRESS.—APPLIES FOR SUCCOUR TO SULTAN MAHMÚD KHAN.—GETS POSSESSION OF MARGHINÁN.—RISING OF THE POPULATION OF FERGHÁNA IN HIS FAVOUR.—RECOVERS ANDEJÁN.—REVOLT OF HIS MOGHUL TROOPS.—SUCCESS OF TAMBOL AND HIS DEFEAT.—CAMPAIGN OF KÁSÁN.—BÁBER CONCLUDES A PEACE WITH JEHÁNGÍR AND TÁMBOL.

BOOK I.

Báber's birth.
6 Moharrem, A. H. 888, Feb. 14. A. D. 1483.

ZEHÍR-ED-DIN MUHAMMED was born on the 6th day of Moharrem, A.H. 888. He was the son of Umersheikh Mirza, the sovereign of Ferghána, by his wife Kutluk-nigár Khánum, the daughter of Yúnis Khan, the Grand Khan of the Horde of Moghuls.* His name was

* Báber's genealogy, on the father's side, was; Báber the son of Sultan Umarsheikh Mirza, the son of Sultan Abusaíd Mirza, the son of Sultan Muhammed Mirza, the son of Mirza Mirán-shah, the son of Amír Taimur Korkán.

On the mother's side, it was; Kutluk-nigár Khanum, the daughter of Yúnis Khan, the son of Weis Khan, the son of Shir Ali Khan, the son of Muhammed Khwája Khan, the son of Khizer Khwája Khan, the son of Toghlak-Taimur Khan the son of Isan-bugha Khan, the son of Dawa Chichan, the son of Borák Khan, styled Ghiás-ed-dín, the son of Sukar, the son of Kámgár, the son of Chaghatái, the son of Chengíz Khan.

chosen for him by Khwája Nasír-ed-dín Obeid-ulla, at that time the most celebrated spiritual guide in Transoxiana. The Chaghatáis, we are told, having some difficulty in pronouncing the Arabic words Zehír-ed-dín, called him Báber, a name which his parents adopted; and his official designation became Zehireddín Muhammed Báber.* At the period of his father's death he was little more than eleven years of age.

CHAP. I.

A. D. 1494.

A. D. 1494.

Ferghána.

The kingdom of Ferghána, now Kokán, to which he succeeded, and which has become so famous as his birthplace, though of small extent, was, as he himself informs us, rich in fruits and grain. It is surrounded on all sides by mountains, some of them covered with perpetual snow, except towards the south-west, between Khojend and Samarkand, where there is an opening between the hills and the left bank of the river Seihún. This river, called also the Sirr, and the river of Khojend, is the ancient Jaxartes†, which, flowing down from the mountains on the side of Káshghar, divides Ferghána into two parts, and afterwards proceeding by Táshkend and Turkistán, reaches the sea of Aral with diminished waters, after passing through a sandy desert.

The different ranges of hills that surround Ferghána do not seem to have any well-ascertained general names. Those on the south, covered with perpetual snow, which separate it from the little country of Karatigín, may be called the Asfera range: the mountains which separate it on the east from Káshghar, and on the north from the deserts of Tartary, seem to bear the name of Alatágh; while, on the west, a branch running from this last-mentioned range towards the Seihún, separates Ferghána from Táshkend, or Shahrokhía. The narrow opening already mentioned, between the Asfera hills

* Tar. Reshídi, f. 123. The Protector or Defender of the Faith, Muhammed the Lion.

† The Sirr is called in books, though not in the country, the Seihún, in the same way as the Amu is called the Jeihún.

BOOK I. A.D. 1494.

and the south bank of the river, is opposite to the termination of this branch.

Its divisions.

The country was divided into seven principal districts, of which five were to the south of the great river, and two to the north. Of those to the south, the chief was Andeján, in which was the capital of the kingdom and the important fortress bearing the same name; the district of Usk extended to the eastward; that of Marghinán or Marghilán to the westward; Asfera stretched to the south and south-west among the mountains, occupying especially the glens and villages at their roots; and finally, Khojend, lower down the river, a strong place, within a bowshot of the stream, on the road to Samarkand. The districts north of the river were Akhsi * and Kásán; the former the second town and the strongest fortress in the kingdom. Umersheikh had made it his capital. Kásán stretched to the east and north of it.

As the little country of Ferghána possesses a rich soil, and lies in a temperate climate, though exposed in summer to violent heat, and in winter to severe cold, it abounds in corn and fruits, especially those of warm countries, such as the peach, the pomegrante, almond and melon. Its orchards and gardens were celebrated. Game is plentiful. The surface of the lower grounds is varied; while in the hills are delightful summer retreats, to which the inhabitants retire to avoid the heat of the weather. But though the country is in general fertile, it is intermixed with portions of ground that mark the neighbourhood of the desert.

Inhabitants.

In Ferghána, as in Transoxiana in general, the older inhabitants of the towns and of the cultivated country were Tájíks, and belonged to no tribe; but in later times the irruptions from the north had increased the number of tribesmen, both Moghuls and Túrks, so that

* Called also Akhsíkat.

the population of the open country, and a considerable portion even of that of the towns, was of Túrki race, and nowhere was the Túrki language thought to be spoken in so much purity. It was the language of the rulers, and was in such general use as to be understood even by the town's people, whose mother tongue was Persian.* It is but little known that the Túrki was at that period a cultivated tongue, in which much poetry and some history had been written. The poets were numerous, but Mír Ali Shér Nawái, a nobleman of the first rank in the Court of Herat, and a munificent encourager of learning, who flourished at this period, was generally acknowledged in his own age, and the judgment has been ratified by succeeding times, as the most distinguished Túrki poet; the second place, by universal consent, being assigned to Báber. The commentaries of Taimur are supposed to have enriched this language; as did those of Báber at a subsequent time; and the Genealogical History of Abulghazi Khan, the Prince of Khwárazm, at a still later period.

It is not easy to convey any very correct idea of

* Baber's Memoirs, pp. 1—6. The Oxus was considered as the ancient boundary between the empires of Irán and Turán, the old Persian and Túrki monarchies. Yet there is good reason to believe that, in very ancient times, the whole cities and cultivated country between the Oxus and Jaxartes, with the rich and populous country north of the latter river, as well as the cities and cultivated plains of Káshgar, were inhabited by a race who spoke the Persian language; while the desert and champain of Transoxiana and Káshghar were traversed by wandering tribes, as they now are. The old inhabitants, who continue to be the artificers and cultivators, are called Tájíks, and sometimes Sarts. The term Tájík, which has excited so much discussion, and which is in use not only in Transoxiana but in Afghanistán, Persia, and Kurdistan, seems to be a corruption of "Tázi," *Arab*, being the name by which the invading Túrks distinguished the subjects of the Arabian government, who were the labourers and merchants, from themselves who belonged to wandering tribes, and were the rulers. Hence the familiar use of Túrk as opposed to Tájík; the former indicating a tribesman, the latter a townsman, a peasant. The term Tájík, in the mouth of a tribesman, was generally used as a term of contempt; while that of Túrk, employed by the Tájík, often signified a man of rough, unpolished manners. See Elphinstone's Caubul.

BOOK I.

A.D. 1494.

State of society,

the state of society in Máwerannaher, of which Baber's little kingdom formed a part. The country being naturally rich, and when under the Aral dynasty, having been favoured by long peace, had become populous and highly cultivated; and the fields were, in many places, irrigated by canals, and improved by works of great labour and expense; so that the earlier writers represent it as a garden. As Samarkand had for ages been the seat of a powerful government, it had been richly adorned with the triumphs of Muhammedan architecture, palaces, mosques, colleges, and tombs. Of these some had been erected by Taimur, who, in the midst of his conquests, sent the artizans of Damascus and Delhi to labour in the improvement of his capital. Many other cities had shared the general prosperity. Trade flourished, to a certain extent, with the useful arts. Of their manufactures, those of paper and of crimson velvet were particularly celebrated. But the confusion and risks of war had recently interfered with every branch of national industry. The constant presence of a court had diffused through various ranks a certain refinement of manners. Learning, too, and knowledge, such as are found in Muhammedan countries, were cultivated. The instruction given in their schools and colleges, though deformed by bigotry, and though it sometimes taught a superstitious subjection to the commands of a spiritual guide, had, with all its defects, a tendency to exercise the reason, to elevate the imagination, and to mend the heart. In them they studied the Koran and its commentaries, containing the principles and the details of religion and of law; the Arabic and Persian Grammar and Logic; the Arabic, but especially the Persian, religious poets, with expositions of the abstruse and mystic passages. There were students in geometry, astronomy, and medicine, as well as of history; but the popular and almost universal taste was for the works of the national poets,

and learning.

especially the Shahnama, which were read with delight, and passages from them were familiarly quoted, not only in common conversation, but even in the transaction of business, and in official correspondence. Poetry was a favourite pursuit, and we hardly find any men of note in that age who had not cultivated the art to a greater or less degree. Few parts of the East had produced more distinguished men of science (especially while it remained under the Arabian government), or more venerated saints.*

Religious families.

There were particular families of holy men, reverenced for their piety; and some dark idea was entertained, that they were endowed with supernatural power, and superior influence with heaven. These men had numerous disciples and adherents, who followed their dictates with blind devotion. They had often a powerful effect even on public affairs: if they occasionally embroiled the country with their intrigues, it must be allowed that in other instances they protected the weak, prevented many individual acts of injustice,

* These writers employed the Arabic, at that period the language of science. Among them may be mentioned:—

Abu Ali Hasan ibn Ali, ibn Sina, better known as the Avicenna of the West, born at Bokhara, and eminently distinguished as a physician and as an expounder of the metaphysics of Aristotle (A. H. 370—428, A. D. 980—1036).

Sheikh Burkán-ed-dín Ali, a native of Marghinán (A. H. 530—591, A. D. 1136—1195), the author of the Hedáya, or Guide; a Commentary on the Musulman Law, translated by Captain Charles Hamilton, 4 vols. 4to, Lond. 1791; and of other works.

Ahmed (or Muhammed) ben Kothair Al-Ferghani, a native of Ferghana, as his name imports, who flourished in the end of the ninth century, in the time of the Khalif Almámon (A. H. 269, A. D. 883), and was celebrated as an astronomer and chronologist. Some of his works have been translated by Christomannus (Francof. 1590, 8vo) and by Golius (Amst. 1669, 4to).

Nor must we forget the astronomers who constructed the tables of the fixed stars, at Ulugh Beg's observatory at Samarkand. See Hyde's Syntagma, and the Geographical Tables; Graves in the Geographi Græci Minores.

To these authors may be added Al-Fárábi, a philosopher eminent in his own country, though less known in Europe, who was a native of Fáráb, beyond the Sirr, and who was murdered by robbers in Syria (A. H. 342, A. D. 954).

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overawed the minds of fierce barbarians and of merciless tyrants, and softened the rigours of war. When no other person could venture to pass between hostile armies, they, from the sanctity of their character, often acted, first as mediators and afterwards as negotiators, in effecting a pacification.

It should at the same time be remarked that some of the Tartar nobles, who had been educated beyond the Sirr, were ignorant even of their letters; and that the want of political stability, and of any general or systematic means of diffusing improvement, confined knowledge to a few. Besides this, in later times, the arts and prosperity of Transoxiana were constantly exposed, not only to the ordinary vicissitudes of foreign war, and of internal discord, common to all countries, but to the more dreadful danger of being overwhelmed by the irruption of new hordes of ignorant and rapacious barbarians from the north, who threatened to sweep away the property, the personal liberty, and the lives of the inhabitants.

Art of war.

As to their skill in the military art, displayed in the conduct of their large armies, they followed the practice and example of Taimur; dividing their host into several bodies, an advance, a centre or main-body, and a rear, besides flanking parties and reserve. The great bulk of the army consisted of cavalry: the arms in use were the bow and arrow, the cross-bow, the scymetar, spear, and mace; the defensive armour, the shield, coat of mail and helmet. The horses too were sometimes defended by cloth of mail or plate-armour. But the Tartars delighted much more in predatory inroads, in sudden attacks and surprises, raids and forays, than in regular warfare. With their horses, which were trained to endure fatigue and to subsist on little, they sometimes made marches of astonishing length. They trained themselves to the use of the scymetar, and much honour was gained by success in the single combats which were

often fought by champions in sight of the hostile armies. In conducting sieges they had little skill. They generally blockaded the place, trying to reduce it by famine. But escalade was also often resorted to; and they were not ignorant of the use of machines by which the wall was overtopped, or shattered. Little use seems to have been made of any engine for throwing stones, though they sometimes did employ the manjaníl or catapult. But they had studied the art of mining and countermining, which they sometimes employed with success. The use of heavy battering cannon was introduced by slow degrees, and very inartificially employed. The number of matchlockmen, small at first, increased from year to year. CHAP. I. A. D. 1494.

Small as was Baber's kingdom, yet as he was a scion of the race of Taimur, he had around him a miniature court composed of the whole establishment of grand officers of state, and of officers of the houshold, such as belonged to the most splendid and powerful monarch. The instability of the times filled the courts of princes with crowds of bold and needy adventurers. The government was a despotism, shared with the heads of tribes, and mitigated chiefly by the influence of such holy and religious families as those already mentioned, and by the power of insurrection and revolt; a dangerous instrument, of most uncertain operation, but to which the evils of misgovernment and feelings of despair often drove the subjects in the turbulent times that ensued. Government.

The news of the death of Sultan Umersheikh Mirza, which happened at Akhsi on the 9th of June 1494, reached Báber the following day at Andeján, where he was then living. The young prince instantly took horse, with such of his followers as were at hand, and without delay rode to secure the neighbouring castle. He had reached the gate, and was about to enter, when Shiram Taghái, one of the nobles who attended him, being seized with sudden apprehension for his safety, His father's death, 4 Ramzan, 899, 9. June, 1494.

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laid hold of his bridle, and turned his course towards the public Id-gáh, or Prayer-Ground. In truth, Báber's situation was not free from danger. Sultan Ahmed Mirza of Samarkand was at that very time invading the kingdom with a hostile army; and it occurred to Shiram, that, if the young prince entered the castle, the Begs of Andeján, who would thereby have him in their power, might make their peace with Sultan Ahmed by seizing and giving up his nephew. No sooner, however, was it known in the fort that the young Sultan was drawing back, than Khwája Moulána Kazi *, a man of the first weight, and the Begs who were in the place, sent to invite him to enter, assuring him of their hearty loyalty, and warmest co-operation.

The Khwája was the head of a religious family of the greatest reputation, wealth, and influence in the country, which for many years had virtually held, by a sort of hereditary succession, the office of Sheikh-ul-Islam, or Judge in civil and religious cases, which in Musulman countries are alike decided by the Koran and its expositions. This family traced back its influence to Sheikh Burhán-ed-dín Kilij, a saint of much renown, and had long been regarded as the religious guardians and protectors of the country. The messenger of the Khwája and friendly Begs overtook Báber just before he reached the Id-gáh, and prevailed upon him, and his attendants, to return and enter the castle, as they had at first intended. A consultation was then held, when it was resolved to put the town instantly in a state of defence. Hasan Yákúb, a nobleman of high rank, and some other Begs, arriving a day or two afterwards, from a service on which they had been detached, joined them; and Hasan Yákub was made Master of the Household.

Báber enters Andeján.

The youthful monarch, on mounting the throne, found

* He is probably the same whom Mirza Haider calls Moulana Muhammed Sadr, Tar. Resh. f. 364.

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A. D. 1494.

Confederacy against him.

that his situation was by no means an easy one; and that, small as his father's dominions were, he did not enjoy them by a quiet and undisturbed succession. We have seen that Umersheikh Mirza, not long before his death, had quarrelled with his brother, the Sultan of Samarkand *, who had, in consequence, entered into a league against him with Sultan Mahmúd, Khan of Táshkend. To confirm this alliance, the Sultan had agreed to give the Khan one of his daughters in marriage; and it was concerted that while the Sultan invaded Ferghána to the south of the river, the Moghul Khan should enter it on the north.

Invasion of Sultan Ahmed Mirza.

In pursuance of this arrangement, the Sultan of Samarkand had already entered Umersheikh's country with his army, and had seized the western province of Uratippa, which lay beyond the proper boundaries of Ferghána; after which he had advanced into that kingdom, and had taken possession of the frontier district of Khojend. At the moment of his brother's death, he had added to these conquests the important town of Marghinán, in the heart of the country; and was now marching, with full confidence of success, towards Andeján, the capital of his nephew.

When he arrived on the banks of the Kába, only sixteen miles from that place, he was met by a mission,

* The princes of Taimur's family, even those who held the supreme power, had not yet assumed the title of *sháh* or *pádsháh*, king or emperor; they were called Mír or Mirza, and often Sultan. In the text, however, the ruling prince is often called King, for distinction's sake; following the usage of historians in general, and even of Báber himself. The title of Sultan was not confined to the sovereign, many chiefs, and children of chiefs, especially among the Moghul tribes, being called by that name, which is an Arabic term, nearly equivalent to Lord. The titles, Mír, Mirza, and Shah, came also, in process of time, to be very commonly given to religious guides and holy men, or mendicants, and, from a sort of flattery, were often continued to the descendants as part of the family name. The title of Mirza, in later times, has been lavished by common usage on secretaries and clerks; and in general on all who pretend to learning. Mirza is merely *mír-zadeh*, son of a Mír.

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at the head of which was Khwája Moulána Kazi, who in Báber's name entreated the Sultan to withdraw from Ferghána, and to allow the young prince to retain the government of his father's kingdom; representing, in the true spirit of Asiatic remonstrance, that his nephew was at once his servant and his son; that the Sultan, even if master of the country, must necessarily exercise his authority by a delegate; and that, by leaving Báber in that situation, he would at the same time gratify his generous feelings, and most effectually promote his own interest. But Sultan Ahmed's ministers, by whom he was entirely guided, being averse to this arrangement, the proposal was rejected, and the army marched on.

The expedition, however, entirely failed of its object. The Kába which they had to cross in their advance, was a dark, muddy river, with a slimy bottom, and not fordable; so that it could be passed only by the bridge, which the invaders proceeded to cross, but in so disorderly a manner, that, numbers crowding over at the same time, all fell into confusion, and many of the horses and camels were pushed over into the river below and drowned. Something similar had happened to the army of Samarkand three or four years before, when the Sultan's troops were seized with a panic in crossing the Chirr near Táshkend, in consequence of which they had been totally defeated by a mere handful of Moghuls, and crowds both of men and horses had perished in the stream. This coincidence, which seemed ominous, disheartened the troops. To add to the impression thus made, a distemper broke out among the cattle of the camp, and carried off numbers of the horses. While they were thus dispirited, they found the men of Andeján, on the other hand, animated by the noblest spirit, resolute to defend their country and prince, and determined not to submit to the invaders. All these circumstances soon led to a negotiation, and terms of

CHAP. I. A.D. 1494. Pacification.

peace were agreed upon, when the invading army had advanced within four miles of Andeján. What these terms were is nowhere specified; but they were probably founded on the basis of the Sultan retaining his conquests, since Khojend, Marghinán, and Uratippa continued to remain for some time in the possession of the Sultans of Samarkand. Sultan Ahmed Mirza, whose health was fast declining, now returned homewards; but had made only a few days' march when he died, in the territory of Uratippa; having survived his brother, Báber's father, only forty days. He was succeeded in the kingdoms of Samarkand and Bokhara by his third brother, Sultan Mahmúd Mirza, the sovereign of Hissár.*

Invasion of the Khan of the Moghuls;

While these transactions were taking place on the south side of the Sirr, Sultan Mahmúd Khan, the Khan of the Moghuls of Táshkend, and Báber's maternal uncle, had marched up the north bank of that river to fulfil his part of the treaty, had passed the hills that separate the territory of Shahrokhía from Ferghána, had entered that country, and laid siege to Akhsi. Báber's younger brother, Jehángír Mirza, was then in the town, which seems to have been his appanage. Some nobles, who happened to be in the neighbourhood, threw themselves into the place, which was very strong, and bravely defended it. Násir Mirza, the third brother, resided at Kásán, a district also on the north side of the river. His governor having some quarrel with certain other chiefs, they, influenced by party feelings, delivered up Kásán to the Khan, even before he approached it; but Násir Mirza was hurried off by his governor, and committed to the custody of Sultan Ahmed Mirza, his uncle, just before that prince commenced his march back from

* Báber's Mem. pp. 18, 19.; Tar. Resh. f. 83. Haider Mirza says (Tar. Resh. f. 83.) that Sultan Ahmed entered Andeján to prevent its falling into the hands of the Moghuls. This does not seem to be borne out by the facts, though it might have been the pretext. Ferishta (vol. ii. p. 5. Briggs's transl.) says that the peace was never ratified.

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Andeján. Akhsi was the strongest fortress in Ferghána; the Khan's men were not at all fit for conducting sieges; and he himself happened to fall sick. When he found that the Sultan had made peace, and that there were no hopes of taking the town, he became disgusted with the war; and, like his ally, put an end to the campaign, and retired to his own country.

In another quarter the Khan seems to have been more successful. The province of Uratippa or Ushrushna, which his lower down the Sirr, to the westward of Ferghána, had for some years been in the possession of Umersheikh. Just before his death, it was seized by the troops of Sultan Mahmúd Khan; and the government bestowed on his most intimate friend, Muhammed Husein Mirza Doghlat, the eldest son of the late Háider Mirza, the Amír of Káshghar; and who, having married a sister of the Khan, and of Báber's mother, was honoured with the title of Korkán.*

and of Ababeker of Káshghar.

Nor were these the only attacks which the youthful prince had to sustain. His dominions were invaded, at this time, on the east also; by Ababeker Mirza Doghlat, the ruler of Kashghar; who advanced, plundering the country, as far as Uzkend † in the east of Ferghána, where he built a fort. But that irruption was checked with less difficulty than either of the others. An adequate force being sent against him, Ababeker was glad to conclude a peace and to recross the mountains of Káshghar. ‡

* Muhammed Husein had been brought up in early life with Sultan Mahmúd, who, we are told, could never bear his absence, and always familiarly called him *Dásh*, which, in the Moghul language, means *friend*. Tar. Resh. f. 74. The Moghuls called the Chághatái of Máweránnaher, "kara dásh," f. 105. The term Gokaltash, or Kokiltash, which so often occurs in the history of India (frequently and more properly written *Gokaldásh*, foster-brother), seems properly to mean heart, or bosom-friend, from this Moghul term *dásh* and *gokal*, which signifies *the heart*. Of *Korkán*, various derivations have been given; but it seems originally to have meant *a son-in-law of the Khan*.

† Called also, Urkend and Aderkend.

‡ Báber's Mem. pp. 19, 20.

All foreign enemies being thus expelled, the chiefs who had defended Akhsi with so much success, now brought Jehángír Mirza and the late king's family across the river to Andeján, where the ceremonies of mourning for the deceased monarch were performed, and governments and other rewards assigned to such of the chiefs as had distinguished themselves in this successful defence of the country. The chief direction of affairs, and of the young prince, was vested in Hasan Yákúb, as Protector; who received the government of Andeján. This situation, however, that nobleman did not long enjoy. Intrigues agitate the court of a little Tartar prince as well as of the greatest monarch. An ambassador having come from Báber's uncle, Sultan Mahmúd Mirza, the new Sultan of Samarkand, bringing presents on the occasion of his eldest son's marriage, it was alleged, with or without foundation, and believed, that this ambassador had entered into a treasonable understanding with the Protector, who had suffered himself to be gained over to the interests of the Sultan. The ambassador took leave, "but," says the royal historian, "in the course of five or six months, the manners of Hasan Yákúb underwent a visible change. He began to behave very ill to those who were about me; and it became evident that his ultimate object was to depose me, and make Jehángír Mirza king in my place." * In consequence of these suspicions, a party was formed, headed by Ais or Isan-doulat Begum, Báber's maternal grandmother, the widow of Yúnis Khan, a lady of high Moghul extraction and of great influence and talent. Having met privately and consulted together, the confederates resolved to seize Hasan Yákúb. That nobleman, however, getting intimation of their design, effected his escape: but soon after, when attempting to make himself master of Khokán †

CHAP. I.

A.D. 1494.

Hasan Yákúb, Protector.

A.H. 900. A.D. 1494.

* Báber's Mem. p. 27. † Or, Khákend.

BOOK I.

A. D. 1494-5.

(at the present day called Kokán, and the capital of the whole country), he was intercepted by the troops sent against him, and slain in a nocturnal skirmish.

Death of Sultan Mahmúd Mirza, Rebi II. A.H. 900, January, A.D. 1495.

Sultan Mahmúd Mirza did not long survive his exaltation to the throne of Samarkand, having died about six months afterwards. He is represented as a prince of talent, but of incurably debauched and profligate manners.* The population of Samarkand, immediately on hearing of his death, rose upon Khosrou Shah, his prime adviser, who had accompanied him from his old principality of Hissár. The Terkhán Begs, who at this time possessed great influence in Bokhara and Samarkand, and other leading men, succeeded in allaying the tumult; and sent off Khosrou to Hissár, at that time held by Sultan Masáúd Mirza, the eldest son of the late monarch, to whom his father had given it when he removed to Samarkand. They then held a consultation, at which it was agreed to pass over Masáúd, and to call in Bayesanghar Mirza, his younger brother. That prince was accordingly sent for, from his government of Bokhara, and placed on the vacant throne of Samarkand.†

Bayesanghar succeeds in Samarkand.

We have seen that Báber did not recover possession of Uratippa, nor of Khojend. Nor was his hold of the rest of his father's dominions altogether secure. At this crisis one Ibráhím Sáru, a Moghul, surprised the fort of Asfera, in the southern province of Ferghána, and declared for Bayesanghar. Báber marched against him; and after a siege of forty days, in the course of which he ran mines, and employed battering machines, reduced the place. Ibráhím, who had been long in the service of Báber's mother, came down from the fortress, and presented himself before the young king, in the

* "Mirza Sultan Mahmúd, the most discreet and virtuous, according to our author" (the author of the Kholaset-ul-Akhbár), "of all the Sultan's (Abusaid Mirza) children," Price's Retrospect, vol. iii. p. 624. The instances adduced by Báber do not admit of this conclusion.

† Báber's Mem. pp. 28—33.

garb of a suppliant, with a scymitar suspended from his neck; and, by the intercession of Kazi Mouláná, he was pardoned. From Asfera, Báber proceeded to recover the important country of Khojend; which, he tells us, was sometimes considered as no part of Ferghana; and, on his approach, it was surrendered to him by Bayesanghar's governor.*

CHAP. I.

A. D. 1495.

Báber recovers Khojend.

When at Khojend, Báber was not far from Shahrokhía, where his maternal uncle, Sultan Mahmúd Khan, the elder Khan of the Moghuls, then happened to be; and, undeterred by the unfriendly attempt which that chief had so lately made to deprive him of his dominions, he resolved to pay him a visit; in the hope of removing any misunderstanding that might still exist between them, and at the same time of conciliating his favour. Shahrokhía lies north of the Sirr, between Khojend and Táshkend. The Khan, a true Moghul, born and bred in the desert, and the genuine representative of Chengíz Khan, received him in state, sitting in a pavilion which was erected in a garden. "Immediately on entering," says Báber, "I made three low bows. The Khan returned my salutation by rising from his seat, and embracing me; after which I went back and again bowed once; when the Khan, inviting me to come forward, placed me by his side, and showed me every mark of affection and kindness." Having spent a few days with his uncle, Báber returned to Akhsi, by the right bank of the river, and then crossed over to Andeján.†

Visits Sultan Mahmúd Khan.

On his return from this excursion, Báber was at a loss in what way to pay his troops. A tribe called Jagrak inhabited the wild and rugged country between Ferghána and Káshghar. Báber despatched a force against them, which entered the country and drove off about twenty thousand sheep and fifteen hundred horses, which he divided among his followers.

Plunders the Jagraks.

* Báber's Mem. pp. 33, 34. † Ibid. p. 34.

BOOK I. A. D. 1495-6. Invades Uratippa,

Not long after, Báber made a sudden irruption into Uratippa, in hopes of recovering that district, which had belonged to his father. It was then held by Sultan Ali Mirza, under his brother Bayesanghar of Samarkand. As Báber approached, the Mirza retired, leaving Sheikh Zulnún in command, as governor. Báber sent Khalífa, a favourite officer, to communicate with Zulnún, and to bring him over to his interest. But the Sheikh, far from being shaken in his fidelity, seized the envoy and ordered him to be put to death. Khalífa, with great difficulty, effected his escape; and, naked and on foot, rejoined the camp. But the season was far advanced, and Báber, on entering the country, found that the inhabitants had taken in all their grain and provender; so that he was constrained to retire, from wanting the means of subsistence. Soon after his retreat, the Khan's people, crossing the Sirr, attacked and took Uratippa. Instead of restoring it to Báber, however, the Khan gave it to his brother-in-law, and particular friend and favourite, Muhammed Husein Korkán, Doghlat; who kept possession of it for nearly nine years, down to the time when Sheibáni Khan overran and took possession of that and of several of the neighbouring districts. This part of his father's dominions, therefore, Báber never possessed.*

which is taken by the Khan

A H 908, A D 1502.

Ramzan, A H. 901, May or June, A.D 1496

It was after Báber's return from this expedition that he was joined by a body of Uzbeks and Doghlat Moghuls, who for some time past had been settled in Hissár. They had just been driven from that country, by the invasion of Sultan Husein Mirza, the Sultan of Khorásán. That able and ambitious prince, probably wishing to take advantage of the death of Sultan Mahmúd Mirza, for at this period the death of any prince seems uniformly to have led to a scramble for his domini[ons] had advanced with a powerful army into the ter[ritory]

* Báber's Mem. p. 35. ; Tar. Resh. f. 83.

tories of Sultan Masáúd Mirza, who now possessed Hissár-Shádmán, and the other states which had been enjoyed by his late father before he succeeded to Samarkand. Masáúd collected an army beyond the Amu, marched to Turmez, and for some time prevented the Sultan from crossing the river. But no sooner had a detachment of his army effected a passage by stratagem, than Masáúd, in spite of the remonstrances of Wáli, his minister, Khosrou Shah's brother, who proposed a rapid attack on the small party that had crossed, fled in alarm to Hissár; and, on hearing of the Sultan's approach, instantly, without even an attempt to face his enemy, abandoned his kingdom, fled disgracefully, and took shelter with Bayesanghar Mirza, his younger brother. in Samarkand.

Sultan Masáúd flies

In consequence of this imbecility, Masáúd's army was broken up; Wáli drew off towards Khutlán. His brother Báki Cheghaniáni, with other chiefs, fortified himself in Hissár. Khamzeh Sultan and Mehdi Sultan, who some years before had left Sheibáni Khan's service and entered Mahmúd's with a body of Uzbeks, and Muhammed Doghlat and Sultan Husein Doghlat, who with a body of Moghuls from Káshgar had settled in Hissár, retired into the mountains of Karatigín. The Sultan of Herat sent in pursuit of them a body of troops, who were defeated in the defiles of the country, and the leaders taken, but set at liberty. The Uzbek and Moghul chiefs then crossed the mountains to Andeján, as has been mentioned, and offered their services to Báber, who willingly accepted them.

Báki defends Hissár.

Meanwhile Báki, who had thrown himself into Hissár, was successful in standing a siege of two or three months, against all the efforts of the Sultan; and his elder brother Khosrou Shah, the prime minister of Masáúd, who took charge of the counties on the south side of the river, adopting on this occasion a bolder and more generous policy than his master, having

BOOK I.

A.D. 1496.

and Khosrou, Kunduz.

fortified himself in Kunduz, resisted with equal success the attack of Badi-ez-zemán Mirza, the Sultan's eldest son, whom his father had sent with a division of his army to crush him, and whom Khósrou, with an inferior force, contrived to shut up in his camp. So effectually was the Mirza thwarted in his object, that he was at length glad to retreat; when the enemy hung on his rear, and harassed him in skirmishes. The Sultan, disconcerted by the bold defence of Hissár, and by his son's want of success, was content to patch up a peace, and to cover the shame of his retreat by negotiating a marriage between a sister of Sultan Masáúd and a son of his own. This well timed and successful resistance was the immediate origin of the great power which Khosrou Shah afterwards attained.*

Bayesanghar defeats the Khans.

At this very period some events occurred at Samarkand, which had great influence on Báber's future fortunes. Bayesanghar Mirza, the new Sultan, had been rather fortunate in the commencement of his reign. A party in his capital, at the head of which was Sultan Juneid Birlás, a man of weight in the country, who felt their views of ambition thwarted by the ascendency of the Sultan's Terkhan ministers, had invited the elder Khan of the Moghuls, Sultan Mahmúd, who was ever ready to enter into any scheme that promised to increase his power, to enter the territory of Samarkand with a hostile army. Bayesanghar,

A H 900, A.D. 1495

with much expedition and energy, led out a well-appointed body of troops to meet the Moghul invaders. He fell in with them near Kánbái, a town of Samarkand; upon which the advanced body of the Moghuls, the flower of their troops, dismounted and began to discharge their powerful arrows against their assailants. But the cuirassiers of the Samarkand army, charging at full speed, broke their lines, trampled them down

* Báber, pp. 37—39.

under foot, and cut them to pieces. The main body, on seeing this slaughter, were seized with alarm and did not stand their ground. Numbers were slain, and many taken prisoners. These were brought before the Sultan's tent, and beheaded as they arrived; and such, we are told, was the number of Moghuls thus put to death, that the open space in front of it being again and again incumbered with the heaps of dead bodies, it was thrice necessary to shift the Sultan's tent to clear ground. The Khan hastened back to Táshkend, with the loss of three or four thousand men.*

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But this success, though it defeated the machinations of the conspirators for a time, did not secure the Sultan from new dangers. He was so imprudent as to displease the leading men of Samarkand, and especially the powerful family of the Terkháns. Having probably been brought up in early life among the Begs and soldiers of Hissár, he showed them on all occasions a marked partiality. The two last sovereigns of Samarkand, the Sultans Ahmed and Mahmúd Mirza, were the sons of Sultan Abusaíd by his chief wife, who was a daughter of Urda-bugha Terkhán. Her brother, Derwísh Muhammed Terkhán, who was thus the uncle of these two princes, had during their reigns possessed the highest influence; and it was chiefly to him and to the Terkhán family, that Bayesanghar, who was a younger son, owed his crown. Derwísh Muhammed, indignant at seeing the principal direction of affairs committed to the hands of provincials, left Bokhara in disgust, and repaired to Karshi, where Sultan Ali Mirza, a younger brother of Bayesanghar Mirza, then was, declared him king, and marched towards the capital.

Displeases the Terkhán chiefs,

who proclaim Sultan Ali Mirza.

The issue of these proceedings was that Bayesanghar was seized by stratagem in his palace and conveyed to

Bayesanghár seized;

* Baber, p. 33.

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the citadel, where Mirza Ali also was. The rebels then consulted together and determined to send him to the palace of Gok-serái.* This was a palace in the citadel of Samarkand, said to have been built by Taimur. It was there that every prince of the house of Taimur, when he became king, mounted the throne; and there that every one who aspired to it unsuccessfully met his doom; so that to say that a prince had been sent to the Gok-serái, was perfectly well understood to intimate that he had been effectually disposed of. But while things were in this state, Bayesanghar, having been allowed, under some pretence, to enter a building in the garden of the citadel, contrived to force his way through a sewer or aqueduct; and he afterwards let himself down over the walls of the fortress, and escaped to a village in the suburbs, where he took refuge in the house of Khwájika Khwája, a person of high reputation for sanctity, and of the first influence in the kingdom. The Terkháns, after waiting for some time without, entered the garden-house, and ascertained that their prisoner was gone.

escapes.

Having traced him to the Khwája's house, they surrounded it, demanding that he should be delivered up to them. This, however, the Khwája firmly refused; and such was the singular influence of these religious families in that age and country, an influence which in no small degree has been preserved to them down to our own times, that even the despotic Terkháns were too much afraid of the populace to venture to use force to withdraw him from the protection of these venerated men. In the course of a few days, some Begs, who were attached to Bayesanghar, being supported by a

Insurrection in favour of

* Green-Palace. The Gok-serái palace is said, by Báber, to have been built by Taimur; yet the palace of Gok-serái is mentioned by Petis de la Croix, Hist. de Genghiz-can, p. 214., as existing in the time of that conqueror, apparently on the authority of Abulfaraj; see also the same history, p. 287. The palace may have been rebuilt by Taimur.

citizens, who rose tumultuously, repaired to the Khwája's house, and bore him off in triumph into the city. They at the same time, blocked up Sultan Ali and the Terkháns in the citadel. That fortress, not being provided for a siege, could not stand out a single day. Sultan Ali fell into his brother's hands, along with Derwísh Muhammed and other Terkháns; the rest escaped to Bokhára. Derwísh Muhammed was put to death. Sultan Ali Mirza was sent, instead of his brother, to the palace of Gok-serái, for the purpose of being blinded by the fire-pencil. It accordingly was applied to Sultan Ali's eyes; after which, as being no longer qualified for public life, he was allowed to retire into the city. There he repaired to the house of Khwája Yahía, the brother of Khwájika Khwája who has been mentioned. Yahía, like his brother, had a high reputation for sanctity; but was the head of a different faction, and his rival. Sultan Ali had attached himself to him as his spiritual guide. He was hospitably and honourably received. Whether it happened from want of skill on the part of the operator, or from intention, yet so it was that Sultan Ali's sight had sustained no essential injury. This, however, he carefully concealed, and, in a few days, escaping to Bokhára, rejoined the Terkhán Beys.*

CHAP. I — A.D. 1496. — Bayesanghar. — Sultan Ali taken, — escapes to Bokhára.

Bayesanghar was soon informed of his brother's escape, and conscious of the danger he had to apprehend from the irritated Terkháns, led an army to expel them from Bokhára. But Sultan Ali marching out, attacked, defeated, and pursued him back to Samarkand.

These events, and the confusion and anarchy with which they were attended in the kingdom of Samarkand, did not escape the observation of Báber, who resolved to try his fortune also in that great scene of his ancestors' glory. At the same moment, and induced by the same motives, Sultan Masaúd Mirza, who had

Samarkand attacked on three sides

* Báber, pp. 38—40.

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Shawel, A. H. 901, June or July, A. D. 1496.

retured to Hissár on the retreat of the Sultan of Herát, also entered that kingdom at the head of an army, accompanied by Wali, the brother of his minister Khosrou Shah. His claim was founded on his being the eldest son of the late king, and the elder brother of two of the competitors, and was supported by the power of his extensive dominions. Thus that unfortunate city, unfortunate from its very wealth and former prosperity, saw itself beleaguered on three sides, at the same time, by the arms of three different potentates, who acted without concert; Báber having advanced towards it from Andeján, Masaúd Mirza from Hissár, and Sultan Ali Mirza from Bokhára. Sultan Ali now proposed to Báber that they should enter into a treaty of alliance and mutual co-operation, to which Báber willingly agreed; and these two Mirzas, actuated more by jealousy of their rival than by any confidence in each other, accordingly had an interview on horseback near Samarkand, in the midst of the river Kohik, into which they cautiously advanced from the opposite banks, each attended by a limited number of followers. But as the autumn was already drawing to a close, and winter fast approaching, and as the country round Samarkand, exhausted by the presence of so many armies, was altogether unable to furnish the requisite provisions and provender for the troops, all the invading princes were compelled to withdraw into their own territories. On this occasion the Uzbek chiefs who have been mentioned as having joined Báber from Hissár, finding perhaps that his little kingdom had nothing to feed the hopes or satisfy the rapacity of adventurers, instead of accompanying him back to it, separated from him, and went to Samarkand, where they were gladly welcomed; but, in a short time, finding that things were not managed there to their satisfaction, they left it also, and joined their native chief Sheibáni Khan, in Turkistán.*

* Báber, pp. 41, 42.

CHAP. I.

A. D. 1497.

Báber again blockades Samarkand.

Ramzán, A. H. 902, May, A. D. 1497.

It had been arranged between Báber and Sultan Ali, at the conference in the river, that as soon as the winter was over, they should return into the field, and, in conjunction, form the siege of Samarkand. In the following May, therefore, when the season admitted of military movements, Báber led his army into the territory of Bayesanghar Mirza, and, after various successes, encamped at Yám, a village not far from the capital. Some skirmishes followed. It is a strong proof of the comparative civilisation which then prevailed in Transoxiana, that, while the besieging army was encamped in that position, a number of traders and shopkeepers came from the town with their wares and goods to sell in the camp bazár. "One day," says Báber, "about afternoon prayers, there was suddenly a general hubbub, and the whole of these Musulmans were plundered. But such was the discipline of my army, that on my issuing an order that no person should presume to detain any part of the effects or property that had been so seized, but that the whole should be restored without reserve, before the first watch of the next day was over, there was not, to the value of a bit of thread, or a broken needle, that was not restored to the owner." *

From Yám Báber moved his camp to Yuret Khán, a station four or five miles from the city, where he remained forty or fifty days. Many severe actions took place with considerable loss on both sides. On one of these occasions, a party which, on the treacherous invitation of some of the townspeople, he had sent to surprise the city by night on the side of the Lovers' Cave †, fell into an ambush, by which some of his bravest soldiers were slain, and others taken prisoners, and afterwards put to death. While he remained there, however, the inhabitants of all the neighbouring country submitted, and surrendered their strongholds to him.

* Báber, p. 43.

† Ghár, or Moghár-Ashikán.

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"So many of the townspeople and traders came from Samarkand, that the camp was like a city, and you could find in it whatever is procurable in towns." *

From the station of Yuret-Khán, Báber moved first to the meadow of Kulbeh, and next to the hill of Kohek, on a different side of the town. When the people of Samarkand saw the army on its march from the one position to the other, thinking that it was on its retreat, and elated with their supposed success, they sallied out, both soldiers and citizens, in great numbers, towards two bridges, which crossed the river Kohek in that direction. Báber, observing this movement, watched for the favourable moment, when he ordered a charge of cavalry to be made upon them. It was completely successful. Numbers were cut down, and many, both horse and foot, taken prisoners. The higher officers and the soldiers were treated with the usual courtesy of the time. The same indulgence was not extended to the citizens. "Of the lower order of townspeople," says the Royal historian, "there were taken Diwáneh, a cloth-weaver, and one nicknamed Kilmásúk, who were notorious as the chief ringleaders of the rabble, in fighting with stones and heading riots. They were ordered to be put to death with torture, in retaliation for the foot soldiers who had been slain at the Lovers' Cave.† This chastisement put an end to all sallies in future, and the effect was such that the besiegers were allowed to advance unopposed up even to the ditch, and to carry off provisions from under the very walls.‡

* Baber, p. 44.

† The feelings of Baber and his advisers, towards the fighting townspeople of Samarkand, may remind the reader of the similar feelings of the *preux chevaliers* of the Middle Ages towards the citizens and peasantry taken in arms. Both thought themselves justified in treating them with cruel severity, and for the same reason. They regarded the use of arms as a monopoly belonging to a privileged class, and punished the military exertions of the lower orders as a troublesome interference with the rights of their superiors.

‡ Baber, p. 47.

CHAP. I.

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Báber huts his army.

But while these protracted operations were going on, the summer was drawing to a close, and the weather began to show symptoms of severity. Báber called a meeting of his Begs, to consult what was expedient to be done. All were agreed that the city was reduced to great distress, and must probably fall in a short time, but that it was impossible to keep the army in the field when winter came on, unsheltered as it then was, and in a country where the winter is extremely severe. It was resolved, therefore, to break up from before the city, and to erect temporary huts for the troops in some neighbouring forts, by which means they could still keep Samarkand, in a great degree, in a state of blockade. The fort of Khwája Dídár was pitched upon for head-quarters; and the necessary erections were begun, in and around it, without delay. When they were finished, the army moved into them. Some officers, however, went with their men to towns at a greater distance to secure better winter accommodation, so that the army was rather scattered.

Irruption of Sheibáni.

The very morning after Báber had taken possession of his new cantonments, Sheibáni Khan, the Uzbek chief, arrived with a formidable army, in presence of the camp. Bayesanghar Mirza, seeing the distress to which his capital was reduced, had sent to invite him to come to his assistance, and the Uzbek, not unwilling, had hastened by forced marches from Turkistán, beyond the Sirr. Báber, though his forces were dispersed, resolved to show a bold countenance, put the troops that were with him in array, and marched out to face the enemy. Sheibáni, who had hoped to take him by surprise, finding him on the alert, did not choose to hazard an action, and drew off towards Samarkand. Bayesanghar Mirza, who had expected much more effectual relief, from so formidable a reinforcement, disappointed and vexed at the result, could not conceal his feelings, and did not give Sheibáni the favourable

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reception which he had expected; while the Uzbek, who in the course of his expedition, short as it was, had seen at once the richness of the prey, and the weakness of its defenders, returned back a few days after to Turkistán. This is the first hostile appearance in Máwerannaher, of that remarkable man, who afterwards exercised so powerful an influence on the fate of Báber and of Samarkand.*

Bayesanghar abandons Samarkand,

That city had now sustained a siege for seven months. Bayesanghar had placed his last hope of relief on the arrival of the Uzbek army. Seeing that too fail, he gave himself up to despair, abandoned the place and his kingdom, and, attended only by a few attached followers, took the road to Kunduz. That district, which lies beyond the Amu, between Balkh and Badakhshán, was then held by Khósrou Shah, who was nominally subject to Sultan Masaúd Mirza of Hissár; but with whom, since that prince's retreat from Hissár, he had quarrelled, and of whom he was in reality independent. Masaúd could have no wish that his brother and rival should be able to unite himself with a protector so formidable as Khosrou; and Bayesanghar, the fugitive prince, in passing, through the territory of Hissár, escaped with difficulty from an attempt made to seize him, though not without the loss of several of his followers who fell into Masaúd's hands. He finally, however, did succeed in reaching Kunduz, where he was well received by Khosrou, who though he had been the chief minister of his father, being at that time engrossed with his own schemes of power and of conquest, regarded Bayesanghar as a fit instrument for his soaring ambition.

which is occupied by Báber,

No sooner did Báber hear of the flight of Bayesanghar, than he hastened from his cantonments towards Samarkand. "On the road," says he, "we were met

* Báber, pp. 47, 48.

by the chief men of the city, and by the Begs; and these were followed by the young cavaliers, who all came out to welcome me. Having proceeded to the citadel, I alighted in the Bostan-Serai, (Garden-palace); and towards the end of the month of the former Rebi, by the favour of God, I gained complete possession of the city and country of Samarkand." * Báber was then in his fifteenth year.

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End of Rebi I. A. H. 903.

End of Nov. 1497.

What share Sultan Ali Mirza had in these transactions does not appear, no mention being made of him during the siege. Báber, whether in consequence of special agreement, or of his superior activity, alone entered the city. Sultan Ali had previously, however, overrun some of the dependent districts, especially those in the neighbourhood of Bokhára, and continued to retain possession of them, as well as of that city.

The city of Samarkand, the possession of which thus rewarded the perseverance of the youthful Báber, was one of the richest and most populous at that time in the world. It had been the capital of the great Taimur, and still maintained its pre-eminence in the countries which he had conquered. Báber gives us an interesting account of its mosques, colleges, and palaces. It was also ennobled by the observatory of Ulugh Beg.† The astronomical tables there composed under the eye of that prince, excited wonder in his own time, and still enrich at least the history of science. The city was situated near the Rohik or Zir-efshán river, called also the Soghd, in a fertile and populous country, and in a delightful climate; and its territory was remarkable at once for its ample harvests and for producing

* Báber, p. 48.

† See his Tables of Longitude and Latitude of the Fixed Stars, in Hyde's Syntagma Dissertationum, tom. i. Oxon. 1768, 4to; and his Geographical Tables, published by Graves in the third vol. of the Geographi Minores Græci, Oxon. 1711, 8vo; see also La Lande's Astrononomie, tom. i. pp. 126, 127. Paris, 1792, 4to.

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the finest fruits in the world. Taimur boasted that in one of its districts, that of Soghd, which probably retained the original name of the ancient Sogdiana, he had a garden a hundred and twenty miles in length. Its manufactures of paper and of crimson velvet, which were celebrated wherever commerce extended, have been already mentioned. The whole country, from the Andeján and the Sirr, to the Amu, including Bokhára, Kesh, and Karshi, was understood to belong to it. The inhabitants were celebrated for the refinement of their manners, their love of learning, and skill in the arts. The Persian, we have seen, was the language of Samarkánd and of all the other large towns, while the Túrki tribes, who occupied parts of the open country, preserved their ancient tongue, and their ruder manners.

Discontent of his troops,

As Báber did not enter Samarkand by storm, but on the invitation of its inhabitants, and would not sanction the general pillage of a city which he intended should be his capital, the crowd of adventurers, both Begs and soldiers, who had looked forward to the rich plunder that it was to afford as the reward of the toils which they had endured in a long siege, were extremely discontented. Though he bestowed on them such rewards as he had to give, they considered themselves as defrauded of the fairest and most natural recompense of their labours. He intimates, however, that his troops had somehow acquired considerable booty in Samarkand; but that, as all the rest of the country had submitted voluntarily, no kind of pillage whatever had been permitted elsewhere.* It is probable that obnoxious individuals, or refractory quarters in Samarkand were plundered; and, as the arrogance of a victorious army is not easily checked, other irregularities might have been committed. The city, however, worn out from the long continuance of the blockade, for which it was not originally prepared, or victualled; and the country, laid waste by the movements of hostile armies for two suc-

cessive summers, had been reduced to a wretched condition; insomuch that, instead of any supplies being drawn from the fertile fields around, it was absolutely necessary for the government to furnish the inhabitants with seed-corn to sow their grounds, and with other supplies to enable them to subsist till the ensuing harvest. To levy contributions for his army from such a country was, as Báber himself remarks, quite impossible. His soldiers were consequently exposed to much distress, and he possessed no adequate means of satisfying their wants. The men began to drop off, and return home. The example set by the soldiers was soon followed even by the leaders. All his Moghul horse deserted, and in the end Sultan Ahmed Támbol, a Moghul nobleman of the first rank in Andeján, forsook him like the rest, and returned home.

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which desert.

To put a stop to this defection, Báber sent Khwája Mouláná Kázi to Uzun Hassan, who had now the direction of affairs in Andeján, that he might prevail upon him to punish some of the fugitives, and send the rest back. But it soon appeared that Uzun Hassan was himself the enemy most to be apprehended. After Támbol had joined him, he no longer showed any reserve. A party, at the head of which were Uzun Hassan and Támbol, openly stood up in favour of Jehángír Mirza, Báber's brother, insisting that as the Sultan had now got possession of Samarkand, he should give up Andeján and Akhsi to his brother. These countries were at the same time demanded by his uncle, Sultan Mahmúd Khan, the Moghul ruler of Táshkend. Both appear to have urged their pretensions under alleged treaties.

Jehángír claims Andeján.

There is some indistinctness in the account which Báber gives of the claims of his uncle and brother; and, if we may judge from the usages of the times and the few facts known to us, there seems to have been some justice in the demands of both. The custom which at

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that period prevailed of giving each son a separate appanage or principality, led to constant civil wars. Báber and Jehángír were born of different mothers, both Moghuls, but of different tribes. Jehángír seems to have been in possession of Akhsí as his share of his father's succession; and the Moghuls of his mother's clan attached themselves to him, and were desirous to make him independent. Most of the misfortunes of Báber's early life arose from this cause. When he had the brilliant prospect of acquiring the dominions of Samarkand, it was very natural that to secure the active co-operation of Jehángír and his friends, who composed a considerable part of the strength of Ferghána, he should have promised that country to his brother, to be held of the great kingdom of Samarkand; and some cession of territory, in return for assistance required, was probably in like manner promised to the Khan, such as his father Yúnis Khan had formerly received. Báber indeed affirms that his uncle, the Khan, could have no claim, as during the two years that he had attacked Samarkand, the Khan had given him no assistance; while, in answer to Uzun Hassan's claim on behalf of Jehángír, he says, that as the countries of Andeján and Akhsi, though never promised to the Khan, had been demanded by him, were he now to give them up to his brother, it would lead to unpleasant explanations with his uncle; and he besides remarks, that when this claim was set up for Jehángír, he had himself not above a thousand men of every description with him at Samarkand; that the claim made at such a moment too much resembled a command, and was repelled as peculiarly offensive.* Certainly, if the demand was in conformity to the literal terms, it must be allowed to be very little in the spirit of the agreement. Everything was now unfavourable

* Báber, pp. 55, 56.

to Báber; he was not settled in his new conquest; and all the deserters who left him on arriving in Andeján sided with Jehángír, and to cover their desertion, became his most determined enemies.

Uzun Hassan, himself a Moghul, who was governor of Akhsi and at the head of Jehángír's party, on receiving Báber's refusal of the demand in that prince's favour, marched toward Andeján and openly raised the standard of revolt. He was joined by Sultan Ahmed Támbol, also a Moghul, who possessed great influence in Ferghána, and who had lately deserted Báber. Báber, anxious to prevent the Moghuls who were in that country from taking part against him, despatched one Tulun Beg, who was also a Moghul, and a brave partisan, to enter into communication with his countrymen, and to attempt to retain them in his interest. But Uzum Hassan and Tambol, learning the route which Tulun had pursued, sent a body of light troops to intercept him, by whom he was taken, and soon after put to death. The revolted leaders, with Jehángír at their head, now laid siege to Andeján. Ali Dost Tagháí was the governor, and was zealously assisted in all his arrangements by Khwája Mouláná Kázi. This eminent person, who was the religious director of Báber's family, was warmly attached to the young prince's interests. He soothed and conciliated such of the troops as had absconded from Samarkand, and is said to have divided eighteen thousand of his own sheep among the soldiers who were in the place, and the wives and families of such as still remained with the Sultan, to keep them steady to his cause. Repeated expresses were despatched to Báber by his mother and grandmother, who were in the town, as well as by Khwája Kázi, to point out the difficult circumstances in which they were placed, and to urge his speedy arrival; informing him that the capital was ill prepared for defence, and, if not speedily relieved, must inevitably fall.

Lays siege to Andeján.

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Illness of Báber:

While these despatches arrived fast upon each other, the young prince lay at Samarkand, slowly recovering from a severe illness. Unfortunately, the confusion of his affairs prevented his laying himself up, and a dangerous relapse was the consequence of his exertions. For four days the only sustenance he received was from having his tongue moistened with wet cotton. Even his most faithful Begs and servants, despairing of his recovery, and thinking that all was over, began to leave him. It was at this moment that an envoy arrived from Uzun Hassan. During the dejection and disorder that prevailed in the household, he was imprudently introduced where the young prince lay motionless, and was afterwards allowed to depart. It so happened, however, that in a few days the vigour of Báber's constitution prevailed. The violence of the disease abated, and he began to recover, but still the attack left behind a thickness or difficulty of speech. Yet, imperfect as was his recovery, so urgent were the letters from his beleaguered friends, that he resolved to abandon his recent conquest of Samarkand, in which he had reigned only a hundred days, and set out for Andeján. In a week he reached Khojend, and there he was met by the painful intelligence that just a week before, on the very day he had left Samarkand, the castle of Andeján had surrendered to the enemy.

he sets out for Andeján.

Rejeb, A. H. 903, March, A. D. 1498.

Surrender of Andeján.

It appears that Uzun Hassan's envoy, who had been admitted to the Sultan's sick chamber, reported, on his return, that he had seen him lying at the point of death, speechless, and kept in life only by having his tongue moistened by wet cotton. This information was without delay communicated to Ali Dost, the governor of Andeján, and confirmed upon oath by the envoy in his hearing, while he stood on the city-wall, near one of the gates. Confounded by the news, and imagining any farther resistance to be unavailing, he entered into a capitulation, and surrendered the place. The be-

siegers immediately entered, and considerable severities were exercised. The attachment of Khwája Kázi to Báber was punished by his being ignominiously hanged over the gate of the citadel, to the great horror of a population by whom he was venerated. His family and dependents were given up to be plundered. Báber had owed him much, and was sincerely attached to him. "I have no doubt," says he, "that Khwája Kázi was a saint. What better proof of it could be required than the single fact, that, in a short time, no trace or memorial remained of any one of all those who were concerned in his murder? They were all completely extirpated. Khwája Kázi was a wonderfully bold man, which is also no mean proof of sanctity. All mankind, however brave they be, have some little anxiety or trepidation about them. The Khwája had not a particle of either."*

CHAP. I.

A.D. 1498

Báber's distress

Báber now felt himself in a most trying situation. "To save Andeján," says he, "I had given up Samarkand, and now found that I had lost the one, without preserving the other." His capital and his hereditary dominions were occupied by a hostile faction, in the name of his brother. The greater part of his army had left him. On no side did he perceive one ray of hope to guide him onwards. His situation too was new to him. It was the first time he had been so deserted. "I became a prey to vexation and melancholy," says he, "for, since I had been a sovereign prince, I never before had been separated in this manner from my country and followers; and, since the day I had known myself, I had never experienced such care and suffering." Uncertain what to do, being equally shut out from Ferghána and Samarkand, he turned for succour to his maternal uncle, Sultan Mahmúd Khan.

The Khan enters into Akhsi

Since the flight and death of Hassan Yákub, the

* Báber's Mem. p. 58.

BOOK I. A. D. 1468. office of prime minister to Báber had been held by Kásim Beg, Kochin, whom he represents as brave, a man of talents, possessed of a rich vein of humour and an elegant wit, though, by an accident not uncommon among nobles of the Tartar race, he could neither read nor write.* Kásim Beg was now despatched to Táshkend, to prevail upon the Khan to march against Andeján. He succeeded in his mission. The Khan, who, with the true Tartar love of spoil, was ever ready to put his army in motion, where a country was to be plundered, marched up the right bank of the Sirr towards Akhsi, the portion of Ferghána nearest to his territory. The hostile and confederated lords, on their part, hearing of his advance, recrossed the river from the Andeján side, and encamped so as to cover Akhsi. There they contrived to engage the Khan in a negotiation, and by their arts of persuasion, and, as Báber intimates, by their bribes to the negotiators, prevailed upon him to retire back the way he came.

But retreats.

The defection of his only ally rendered the situation of the young prince more desperate than ever. Several of the Begs and soldiers who still adhered to him had their wives and families in Andeján. Anxious for their safety, and seeing now no other way to protect them, such as were so situated separated from Báber to the number of seven or eight hundred men, and returned home, leaving only two or three hundred adherents to the late conqueror of Samarkand. "I was now reduced to a very distressed situation," says he, "and wept a great deal." He went on to Khojend, which still adhered to him. There he was joined by his mother and grandmother from Andeján, and by the families of several of those who were still attached to his fortune; and there he spent the month of Ramzán, the great

* Báber's Mem. p. 16.

Muhammedan fast.* He then renewed his application for assistance to his uncle, who was always sufficiently ready to put his troops in motion, though generally to no very great purpose. As the Khan's recent treaty probably prevented any new effort against Andeján, Báber determined once more to make an attempt on Samarkand. The Khan sent his son with four or five thousand men to assist him; but before Báber could join them in the Samarkand territory, they had heard of the approach of the Uzbeks under Sheibáni Khan, and had hurriedly retreated homewards: Báber, therefore, unable to accomplish anything with his own slender means, returned to Khojend.†

Visits the Khan.

The vigorous and elastic spirit of Báber was not to be broken by this series of disappointments and discomfitures. He once more crossed the great river, and repaired to the Court of his uncle, the Khan of the Moghuls, to crave his assistance in recovering his father's kingdom. Báber's mother, we have seen, was the sister of the Khan; Jehángír's, as has been remarked, was also a Moghul, but of a different tribe. The Khan, after some solicitation, granted the young Sultan a feeble and inefficient reinforcement of eight hundred Moghuls, with which he surprised and carried by escalade the fort of Násukh, about forty miles from Khojend. But, finding it too far off to be conveniently retained, he abandoned it, and returned back to that town.

As Khojend was a small district that could hardly support two hundred retainers, it was of importance to Báber to afford it some relief from the burden of maintaining even his small army. For this purpose he endeavoured to prevail upon his neighbour and maternal uncle, Muhammed Hassein Korkán Doghlat, who, as has

* A. H. 903, Ramzán, A. D. 1498, May. It was on the 22nd May, 1498, and while Báber was overwhelmed by misfortune, that Vasco de Gama arrived at Calicut, and completed the discovery of the passage to India by the Cape of Good Hope.

† Báber, p. 50.

BOOK I.

A.D.1498-9.

Goes to Bisbágher;

been mentioned, had held Uratippa under the Khan for the last three or four years, to lend him the village of Bishágher, in the district of Yárailák for one winter. It had formerly belonged to the late Kkwája Kazi, and lying on the road to Samarkand, was particularly favourable to Báber's views. Muhammed Hussein was finally prevailed upon to consent to this arrangement, and Báber removed to Bishágher; where he exerted himself with such activity during the winter, that, by stratagem or negotiation, he got possession of a great part of the country of Yárailák.

A. H. 904. A. D. 1498-9.

which he is compelled to leave.

When the young Sultan, after occupying Samarkand for a hundred days, had left it on his return towards Andeján, the imperial city was occupied by his cousin, Sultan Ali Mirza of Bokhára, who had been his ally and coadjutor during the siege. As Yárailák was dependent on Samarkand, Sultan Ali, now advanced with a large force to expel the intruder; and Báber, who had not three hundred men with him, deprived of all means of a successful resistance, was compelled to withdraw from the limited conquests that he had made, and altogether, to abandon that part of the country. Unwilling by returning to Khojend, to oppress the inhabitants of that little district, who for nearly two years had supported him and his band of followers, he turned off to the Iláks, a hilly tract south of Uratippa, where, living the unsettled life of a fugitive, he spent some time perplexed and distracted with the hopeless state of his affairs.

Goes to the Iláks.

"One day while I remained there," says he, "Khwája Abul Makáram, who, like myself, was an exile and a wanderer, came to visit me. I took the opportunity of consulting him with respect to my situation and concerns — whether it was advisable for me to remain where I was, or to go elsewhere, — what I might attempt, and what I should leave untried. He was so much affected with the state in which he found me, that he shed tears, and after praying over me, took his

departure. I myself was also extremely affected. That very day, about afternoon prayers, a horseman was descried at the bottom of the valley. He proved to be a servant of Ali Dost" (the governor who had surrendered Andeján). "He came with a message from his master to inform me that he had undoubtedly offended deeply, but that he trusted to my clemency for forgiving his past offences; and that if I would march to join him, he would deliver up to me the town of Marghinán, and would do me such service and duty as would wipe away his late errors and free him from his disgrace." *

CHAP. I. A.D. 1499.

Invited to Marghinán;

No sooner did the young Sultan receive this welcome message than he mount and set out for Marghinán. It was then about sunset. The next three nights and two days he and his followers rode without halting, except to refresh and feed their horses. Before sunrise, on the third morning, they had arrived within four miles of Marghinán, having ridden about a hundred. It was now only that they began to consider, that on a former occasion Ali Dost had joined the enemy; and, even at the present moment, held Marghinán for them; that there had been no mutual intercourse with him, by which his real sentiments could be ascertained; that he might at that very time be treacherous, and leading them into a snare. Báber and his friends consulted together; and, though they saw that their apprehensions were not unreasonable, still it was agreed that their prudence had come too late, their whole party being worn out, both men and horses; and besides, so desperate was their present condition, that it was worth their while to hazard everything. They therefore pushed on, and early in the morning reached the gate of the castle. Here they found Ali Dost, who received them standing over the gateway, the gate being shut.

* Báber's Mem. p. 65.

BOOK I.

A. D. 1499.

which he enters.

He asked terms, which were granted him, when he threw open the gates, made his submission to his sovereign, and conducted him to a house in the fort. Báber had about 240 followers with him on this journey.

Discontent in Ferghána.

The possession of Marghinán, which lay far advanced in Ferghána, placed him in rather a better situation than he had been for a long time past. He found that Uzun Hassan and Támbol, who directed the councils of his brother Jehángír, had resorted to some harsh measures, that their government had become unpopular all over the country, and that his own restoration was very generally desired. To take advantage of the prevailing discontent, he sent Kásim Beg with a small body of a hundred men to the highlands south of Andeján to attempt to raise the country; while Ibráhím Sáru was despatched with about the same number to cross the river towards Akhsi, and to try what could be done in the northern provinces.

Uzun Hassan and Támbol, on hearing of Báber's success, collected not only the whole of their own followers with the Moghuls who were attached to them, but called out every man in Andeján and Akhsi who was able to bear arms; and taking Jehángír Mirza along with them, marched to invest Báber in Marghinán.

Uzun Hassan invades Marghinán;

Though the flower of the Sultan's little army had been sent off with the detachments, he was not dismayed; but, with the few old followers still left with him, and such new ones as he could raise on the spur of the occasion, he assumed a bold attitude, marched out, faced the enemy as they advanced to the town in battle array and in great force, and engaged and harassed them with such effect as to hinder their advancing beyond the outskirts of the suburbs. On two following days, when they came on in force to drive him from his position, he was equally successful.

Meanwhile the two small detachments that he had sent out were daily making progress. That under Kásim Beg was joined, as well by the peasants as by the

CHAP. I. A. D. 1499.

tribes, whether wandering or settled, in the southern hill-country; while the other under Ibráhím Sáru that had crossed the Sirr, found the inhabitants there also universally disgusted with the new government. On their approach, the townspeople of Akhsi, the second city of the kingdom, rose upon the garrison with sticks and clubs, drove them out of the town, forced them to fly into the citadel, and then called in Ibráhím. To add to this success, a body of troops sent by Báber's uncle the Khan marched up the river, and passing the defiles, joined the detachment in the town of Akhsi.

The news of these occurrences alarmed Uzun Hassan. He instantly sent back from his camp at Marghinán a body of chosen men, with orders to cross the river and relieve the troops who were shut up in the citadel of Akhsi. When this detachment arrived opposite that town, by some oversight, in not pulling sufficiently high up the stream, the boat in which they were ferried across the Sirr missed the intended landing-place, and by the force of the current was carried down below the works into shallow water, where it could be reached by the enemy's horse, who instantly rode into the river and attacked them. They were all put to death or taken prisoners.

but retreats.

When this misfortune was known in Uzun Hassan's camp, he saw that he could no longer maintain himself near Marghinán. The army was led back in great confusion to Andeján. But on reaching that capital the confederate chiefs found, to their consternation, that the governor had declared for Báber. This unlooked-for event entirely disconcerted them. The army broke up, each chief shifting for himself. Uzun Hassan reached the citadel of Akhsi, which he had long held, and where he had left his family. Sultan Ahmed Tambol hastened to the eastward, to Ush, which was his proper government; and, before he arrived there, was joined by Jehángír Mirza; who, in consequence of a plot

BOOK I.

A. D. 1499.

originating in one of those factions and disputes at that time so common, had been carried off from Uzun Hassan by some of his servants and followers*, and was now delivered to Támbol, who was Uzun Hassan's rival.

Báber enters Andeján.

Zilkadeh, A. H. 904. June, A. D. 1499.

On this change of fortune, Báber once more re-entered his capital, from which he had been excluded nearly two years. Many and severe as were the changes of fortune that he had undergone, he was still little more than sixteen years of age.

When Támbol arrived at Ush he found the citizens in the same state of ferment as the inhabitants of the rest of the country, and indignant at his misgovernment and oppression. On his entrance, he was furiously attacked by the commonalty with sticks and stones, and fairly driven out of the place, which declared for Báber. Támbol, with Jehángír Mirza and a few partisans who still adhered to them, was now compelled to retire northward to Urkend, near the mountains that border on Káshghar.

Pursues Uzun Hassan,

Báber, eager to improve his success, did not waste his time in Andeján. In the course of four or five days he followed Uzun Hassan, his most formidable enemy, to Akhsi. That chief, finding that it would not serve any good purpose to hold out the citadel, since all the country had become hostile to him, entered into a capitulation, by which he agreed to give up the place, bar-

who capitulates.

gaining only for the lives and property of himself, his family and adherents, and for liberty to leave the country. The citadel was accordingly surrendered to Báber.

This flow of success placed the affairs of the Sultan in a more prosperous situation in Ferghána than they had ever before attained since his accession. He had recovered his native kingdom, and rebellion was quelled. Before returning to his capital he devoted some time to settling the northern provinces of Akhsi and Kásán.

* Báber's Mem. pp. 66, 67.

He dismissed the Moghul auxiliaries whom his uncle the Khan had sent to his assistance; and then returned to Andeján, carrying with him Uzun Hassan, his family and dependents. That chieftain was allowed to leave the country, in terms of the capitulation, and crossed the southern mountains to Kárátigín, on his way to Hissár, attended by a small retinue. All the rest of his former followers remained behind.

CHAP. I.
A.D. 1499.

Báber's imprudence.

But one act of imprudence blighted the fair prospects which seemed to be opening to Báber, and plunged him once more in an abyss of danger and difficulty. The soldiers whom Uzun Hassan had left behind, especially the Moghuls, had been the instruments of various acts of severity committed under his orders, and probably of many more done on their own account. After his departure, they seem to have entered Báber's service, or at least to have acknowledged his sovereignty, trusting to the terms of the capitulation. Several of the native Begs and others, however, who detested these rapacious strangers, represented to the young Sultan, that they were the very men who, during the late disturbances, had pillaged his adherents and the followers of the faithful Khwája Kázi, and had been guilty of every enormity; and that he was not to expect fidelity from men who had abandoned their own chiefs. They therefore urged him to issue an order for pillaging these notorious plunderers: or, continued they, if it seems going too far to order a general pillage, let us at least not have the mortification to see them riding our horses, wearing our clothes, and killing and eating our own sheep before our eyes: it is but fair that we, who have adhered to you in all your changes of fortune, should be suffered to reclaim at least such part of our own property as we find in the possession of these marauders, who should be very thankful for getting off on such easy terms. Without due consideration, Báber was prevailed upon to publish an order to that effect, though

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in favour of such only as had accompanied him in his campaigns. "Nothing," as he himself remarks, "could have been more imprudent. When there was a rival like Jehángír Mirza at my elbow, it was a senseless thing to exasperate so many men who had arms in their hands. From my issuing this single inconsiderate order, what commotions and mutinies ensued! It was in reality the ultimate cause of my being expelled a second time from Andeján." * Báber was one of the few princes who had sufficient wisdom to see, and sufficient superiority of mind to acknowledge and profit by, his errors. It was this frank and healthful spirit of observation that helped to carry him through all the difficulties of his chequered life.

Revolt of the Moghuls.

The Moghuls were not to be plundered with impunity. They were not only brave but numerous, amounting to three or four thousand fighting men. They immediately put themselves in a posture of defence, and sent to offer their services to Támbol and Jehángír Mirza, marching at the same time to the eastward to join them. The affair was treated by Báber's chief nobles as a slight matter, which did not call for the Sultan himself to take the field. It was therefore arranged that Kásim Beg, with some other officers, should lead a detachment of the army after them, and chastise their insolence; and the Beg accordingly set out on the service. But it turned out a much more difficult matter than had been anticipated. The Moghuls

who joins Támbol.

were joined by Támbol. Hardly had the Beg passed the Ilamish river by the ford of Yasi-kijet, when the two armies met face to face, and engaged. After a desperate action, Báber's army was completely routed, and a number of his Begs and officers fell into the hands of

Defeat of Kásim Beg.

the enemy. Kásim Beg, and the few who escaped, fled

* Baber, p. 68.

to Andeján and were closely followed by Támbol, who advanced within a farsang of the place.*

This reverse was most untimely. The country, after a long season of uproar and confusion, was just beginning to recover its tranquillity and to fall into order. Several of Báber's principal supporters were at a distance, actively employed in their respective governments, and could not, at the moment, assist him. The decided ascendancy which he had just recovered, was lost again. Támbol and Jehángír, improving their victory, advanced several times insultingly towards the town, with their army ranged in order of battle; but Báber declined a general action, at the same time that, by posting his troops under cover, in the gardens, houses, and narrow roads in the suburbs, he always checked the enemy in their movements. They shifted their ground repeatedly from one side of the town to another, in hopes of gaining some advantage; but, after remaining about a month in the vicinity of the city, without effecting any thing, they were at last compelled to break up, and moved for Ush; the fort of which was held for Báber, by Ibráhím Sáru's men.†

Andeján threatened.

The Sultan, on being relieved from this danger, sent to collect the whole force of his little dominions which had been dispersed after the surrender of Uzun Hassan; and, when those nearest at hand were assembled, put his troops in motion towards the end of August ‡, and soon arrived near Ush; the enemy, at his approach, retiring to the northward. Next morning, as he was marching past the town to follow them, he learned with surprise that they had given him the slip, and were in full march for Andeján. He proceeded, however, in his route towards Urkend, in which district the strength of Támbol lay; and sent out detachments, who indeed

Báber marches to Ush.

18 Moharrem, 905, 25 Aug. A.D. 1499.

And Támbol to Andeján.

* A farsang is about three miles and three quarters, or four miles.

† Báber, p. 70.

‡ We are hardly ever informed of the positive strength or numbers of the hostile armies at this period.

BOOK I.

A.D. 1499.

plundered and laid waste the country, but did nothing effectual. Támbol, meanwhile, held on his course towards Andeján, hoping to surprise it. He arrived there during the night, and entered the ditch unperceived; but, while his men were planting their scaling ladders, they were observed, and the alarm given; so that the attempt failed, and he was forced to retreat. Báber, having returned from Urkend into the territory of Ush, attacked and took Mádu, one of its forts, in which was Khábil, a brother of Támbol, with some of his best warriors; a fortunate occurrence for such of the Sultan's officers and men as had been made prisoners at the defeat of Yási-kijet.

The armies lie face to face.

The two armies soon after approached each other, and lay for upwards of a month, with not more than three or four miles between them. During this time there were daily skirmishes. Báber, whose army was the weaker of the two, drew a trench round his position, and carefully guarded against surprise. While thus situated, a Moghul chief, with the branch of a migratory tribe which had been obliged to leave Hissár, in consequence of one of the revolutions so frequent in that age, crossed the Kárátigín mountains and joined him.* Encouraged by this unexpected aid, which placed him in a situation to meet the enemy in the field, he advanced towards their camp, to offer them battle. Having heard, however, of his increase of strength, they did not venture to await his coming, but retreated hurriedly, with the loss of part of their tents and baggage; so that Báber on coming up encamped on the ground they had quitted. Támbol, after marching about twelve miles in the direction of Andeján, halted at Khubán. Báber followed him; and Támbol found himself at last obliged to march out and

* This was Sultan Ahmed Kerá-wal, the father of Kuch Beg, with his clan.

engage in a regular battle. But, such was the ardour and impetuosity of the cavalry in Báber's left wing, that, having charged Támbol's right, they broke and totally routed it, even before Báber's right had time to come up. The victory was complete, many of the enemy being slain, and many taken prisoners, whose heads were ordered to be struck off, according to the barbarous custom of the times. Báber halted at Khubán. This victory, in the first pitched battle that he had fought, delighted him much. Támbol and Jehángír Mirza escaped towards Urkend; and, as the winter was at hand and little grain or forage to be found in the country, Báber led his army back to Andeján.*

CHAP. I. A.D. 1499. Báber defeats Támbol.

Winter campaign.

It soon, however, appeared that the enemy, though defeated, were still in great strength; and that it was necessary to take such a position as would straiten their quarters, and hinder them from overrunning the open country at will. Báber, therefore, in spite of the inclemency of the season, marched his army to the eastward, to Suárási, a favourable position between two rivers, where he halted his troops, and contrived not only to keep the enemy in check, but to make constant inroads and forays into their country. He, at the same time, indulged himself in hunting and fowling, in the fine sporting country in which he lay. Unfortunately Kamber Ali and some others of his chiefs began to tire of the severities of a winter campaign; so that, to prevent discontent, the Sultan was obliged to give them permission to return home; and the consequence was, that, after remaining six or seven weeks in that station, he was finally compelled, in consequence of his diminished strength, most unwillingly to break up his quarters and return to Andeján. "Had I remained all winter in these cantonments," says he, "there is every reason to believe that, by the return of spring, the enemy would

* Báber, pp. 72—74.

BOOK I.
A. D. 1499.

have been reduced to the last extremity, without fighting." *

When Támbol perceived the superiority which Báber had acquired in the field, he felt the necessity there was for looking around him for additional assistance. He happened to have an elder brother who held a confidential situation in the household of Sultan Mahmúd Khan, Báber's uncle; and, through him, he contrived to prevail upon that restless prince, who seems to have been ever ready to assist indiscriminately all who asked his aid, to send him a body of auxiliaries. Támbol, at the same moment that he learned that Báber had broken up his cantonments, received information that a detachment of the Khan's men was certainly in motion to come to his succour. This intelligence emboldened him, in spite of the season, to assume the offensive, and to march from Urkend to Suárási.

The Khan's son enters Kásán,

As soon as the alarming news was brought to Báber that a son of the Khan, with five or six thousand men, had entered his northern dominions, and laid siege to the important town of Kásán, he lost no time; but with his characteristic activity instantly set out, taking along with him such troops as were at hand. He marched all night, and next day reached Akhsi. "It was the depth of winter," says he, "the cold during the night was intense, insomuch that several of my people were frost-bitten in the hands and feet, and the ears of some of them were contracted like a withered apple." † Crossing the Sirr at Akhsi, he hastened on to Kásán; but, when he arrived within a mile or two of that town, was met by intelligence that the Khan's army, on getting notice of his approach, without waiting to receive him, had made the best of their way back to their own country.

but retreats.
Campaign of Kásán.

Meanwhile Támbol, who was marching by Suárási, as soon as he knew with certainty that Báber had left

* Báber, p. 75. † Ibid. p. 76.

Andejàn, also crossed to the right bank of the Sirr, and hastened on by forced marches; hoping to reach Kásán, and join the besiegers, before the young Sultan could arrive. In the afternoon of the very day on which Báber came to Kásán, the approach of Támbol's army was descried from a distance. Disconcerted and disappointed, when met by information of the precipitate retreat of the Khan's troops, Támbol halted his men. Báber, with the ardour of a youthful warrior and the instinctive talent of a general, urged the necessity of attacking the enemy without delay, while they were yet surprised and dispirited. His older officers urged that, as the day was about to close, it was better to put off the attack till the morrow, and their advice prevailed. Early next morning they mounted and rode to the attack, but the enemy was gone. Támbol, aware of his danger, had made his troops retreat, fatigued as they were, as soon as the darkness had fallen; and did not permit them to halt for a moment the whole night. They were indeed pursued, and at length overtaken, but not till they had found shelter in the fortress of Arkhián. Here Báber faced them for five or six weeks, *he* not being strong enough to besiege the fort, and *they* not venturing to attack his lines.

At the end of that time, Támbol, being invited by a petty chieftain among the Andeján hills, who had revolted from the Sultan, decamped by night, and marched to join him. Báber hastened to intercept him in his march, but ineffectually. Támbol succeeded in reaching the fort of Beshkhárán, and encamped, protected by it. As there was only the distance of a mile or two between the camps, daily skirmishes and single combats took place. But Báber's chief Begs and officers soon began to be tired of this fatiguing and ineffectual warfare, and talked of peace. Under these circumstances, Ali Dost and Kamber Ali, the chiefs of greatest influence in his army, managed to conclude a treaty; Báber says, with-

BOOK I.
A.D. 1500.

Treaty between Báber and Jehángír.

out informing him or the Begs most attached to him, of its progress or its terms, 'till it was concluded, when acquiescence became a matter of necessity. The conditions were, that, the river Sirr should be the boundary between Báber and his brother Jehángír; Akhsi, Kásán, and all to the north of the river being given up to Jehángír; while all to the south, including Urkend, was to belong to Báber; that, time was to be allowed to Támbol and his followers to withdraw their wives and families from Urkend; that after the two princes had tranquillised and settled their respective dominions, they should march in concert together against Samarkand; on the conquest of which kingdom, Báber was to give up Andeján also to his brother. This treaty was concluded in the end of February A.D. 1500, and next day Jehángír and Támbol waited upon Báber, when it was confirmed. After this, Jehángír proceeded to Akhsi and Báber to Andeján, and the prisoners on both sides were set at liberty.*

End of Rejeb, A.H. 905, end of Feb. A.D. 1500.

* Báber's Mem. pp. 75–78.

CHAPTER II.

SHEIBÁNI KHAN. — SECOND CONQUEST AND LOSS OF SAMARKAND. — BÁBER IS KEPT UNDER BY HIS MINISTER. — INVITED TO SAMARKAND. — AFFAIRS OF THAT COUNTRY. — HE ADVANCES TO THE CAPITAL. — MARCH OF SHEIBÁNI TO ITS RELIEF. — HISTORY OF THAT CHIEF. — FLIGHT OF BÁBER BY HISSAR. — HE RESOLVES TO ATTEMPT SAMARKAND. — TAKES IT BY SURPRISE. — HIS BATTLE WITH SHEIBÁNI, AND DEFEAT. — HE IS BESIEGED IN SAMARKAND FOR FIVE MONTHS. — CAPITULATION. — HE ESCAPES TO URATIPPA.

CHAP. II.

A.D. 1500.

Báber's constrained position.

WHEN Báber was restored to peace, with his territories thus diminished, he was just seventeen years of age. The Beg who had now the chief direction of his affairs was Mír Ali Dost, Tagháí, a Moghul, and a near relation; probably the brother of his grandmother. This was the same nobleman who had surrendered Andeján to Uzun Hassan; but Báber was indebted to him for his restoration to his dominions, as it was by him that he was invited to Marghinán, from his uncomfortable residence in the hilly Iláks. Báber seems never to have liked him, however, and represents him as a man of disagreeable manners, covetous, factious, sour of visage, and harsh of speech. Such a person was not likely to win the affections of a generous and lively young prince. The Mír found various pretexts for sending away the servants to whom his master was most partial. Khalífa, whom Báber always treated as a friend, was discharged. Ibráhím Sáru was imprisoned, stript of his government and fined; and Kásim Beg, Báber's favourite minister, a man of wit and talents, was dismissed. Several others of the chief officers were deprived of their governments. In a word, Ali Dost,

BOOK I. A.D. 1500. relying on the assistance of Támbol, with whom he maintained a close understanding, having removed all opposition, and made all power centre in his own person, acted in every respect with unlimited authority. His son, too, began to affect the state of a sovereign; and his whole style of living, his entertainments and levées, were those of a prince. "My situation was singularly delicate," says the royal historian, "and I was forced to be silent. Many were the indignities which I endured at that time, both from father and son." It was at this period that Báber married Aisha Sultán Begum, the daughter of his uncle Sultan Ahmed Mírza, the late Sultan of Samarkand, to whom he had been betrothed in his father's lifetime.*

Shaban, A. H. 905, A. D. 1500, March.

Affairs of Samarkánd.

But the state of Máwerannaher was too disturbed and unsettled to leave a long repose to any prince within its limits. We have seen that when Báber abandoned Samarkand to return to the protection of his hereditary dominions, that capital was occupied by his late ally Sultan Ali Mírza, who had previously advanced with his army from Bokhára, and seized a great part of its territory. This prince, who was Báber's cousin, and still young, was, like him, kept in a state of wretched constraint and insignificance, by his relations the Terkhán lords, to whom he owed his kingdom. They appropriated to themselves the whole revenue, and divided at pleasure the different governments among their sons and dependents. Muhammed Mazíd was the minister who had the immediate direction of the Sultan. That prince, having grown up to man's estate, naturally felt uneasy under such treatment, and entered into a plot to remove his domineering servants. Muhammed Mazíd, getting notice of what was in agitation; and probably uncertain to what extent the conspiracy against his power

* Báber's Mem. p. 78.

had reached, withdrew from Samarkand, and was followed by many of the chief men of the country, who were his adherents. CHAP. II. A.D. 1500.

It was at this time that Weis Mírza, better known as Khan Mírza, the youngest brother of Sultan Ali, whose mother was a sister of the Khan of the Moghuls, entered the territory of Samarkand on the north, attended by an army furnished him by his uncle, Sultan Mahmúd Khan, whose Moghuls, as usual, were ready at every call. Weis Mírza was the fourth of the brothers who had aspired to the throne of Samarkand. Many lords of Moghul families who were in the city went out and joined the invaders. Muhammed Mazíd Terkhán, the offended and fugitive minister of Sultan Ali, also invited the Moghul army to form a junction with him, and had a conference with its chiefs at Shádwár. But so little could they agree, that the Moghuls proposed laying hands upon him and his party; though he was fortunate enough to discover and defeat their intentions by a precipitate flight from their camp. Thus deprived of his co-operation, the Moghuls were forced to retreat; while Sultan Ali, availing himself of their distress, pushed after them, overtook them in the Yar-ailák territory as they were coming to their ground, and completely routed and dispersed them.*

Báber marches against Samarkand.

When Muhammed Mazíd Terkhán and his followers saw that all hope of returning to Samarkand by any co-operation with the Moghul Khan, or any reconciliation with Sultan Ali Mírza was over, they turned their eyes on Báber, and sent to offer him their services. Being then in the uncomfortable situation that has been described, under constraint and without influence in his own court, Báber eagerly caught at the offer. Samarkand had long been the grand object of his

* Báber's Mem. p. 80.; Briggs's Ferishta, vol. ii. p. 14.

BOOK I.

A.D. 1500.

ambition, and it had been expressly presented to him as such, when the recent peace with his brother was concluded. Without hesitation, therefore, he gladly began his march for that city, with the few troops that were near him at the time, sending an express to Jehángír at Akhsi, to follow him without delay.

Zikadeh, A.H. 905, June, 1500.

It was now the month of June, the proper season for action: but Báber had made only four marches when he learned that Támbol's brother, Khalíl, who had lately been his prisoner, had seized the fortress of Ush. Khalíl, having been set at liberty by the late treaty, had been sent by his brother to bring away their families and property from Urkend. Instead of executing this commission at once, as he might have done, he contrived, under various pretences, to remain lingering day after day in the neighbourhood, till hearing that Báber had actually set out for Samarkand, and that Ush was but slightly garrisoned, he attacked it by night, and carried it by surprise.

Báber had not been prepared for this act of treachery; but he resolved not to be diverted from his great object by any inferior consideration. He was displeased with those who had the present management of his affairs, and justly believed that he could best shake them off, when he was not surrounded solely by their immediate dependents. Besides, as he had been invited by a powerful party of the nobles of Samarkand, it was necessary to avail himself of the favourable moment, or lose it for ever. The little kingdom of Andeján was not to be compared to that of Samarkand, and its magnificent capital, the seat of the representative of Taimur. He therefore continued his march, and on his route was joined by a number of his adherents, and of adventurers, from his own country. No sooner, however, was he fairly engaged in this expedition, than his unslumbering enemy Támbol entered his hereditary dominions, and left nothing undone, to seize all the

castles and districts of Andeján, and its territory, which Báber had just left.*

CHAP. II. A. D. 1500.

Encamps near it.

Báber meanwhile, advancing by Uratippa, reached Yurat-khan, about five miles from Samarkand, without opposition. On the road he learned that he was not the only foreign enemy in the field. Sheibáni Khan, the chief of the Uzbeks of Túrkistán, who had probably been invited a second time by Sultan Ali, having again crossed the Sirr, had defeated the Terkháns of Bokhára, and was in full march towards that city. At Yurat-khan Báber was joined by Muhammed Mazíd Terkhán, and the disaffected Begs of Samarkand. They assured him that if he could gain the cordial co-operation of Khwája Yahía, who has been already mentioned as a holy man of great note and influence in the city, he might enter it without a struggle. We have already seen the influence of these spiritual guides in Transoxiana, and the benefit which Báber derived from the aid of Khwája Mouláná Kázi in Andeján. At this time there were two rival saints of leading influence in Samarkand, Khwájika Khwája, and Khwája Yahía. They were brothers; but, like the royal brothers, political events and their own ambition had set them at variance. Both of them had numerous followers and adherents. When the Terkháns surprised Bayesanghar Mirza in Samarkand, and that prince contrived to make his escape from the citadel, he took refuge, as we have seen, in the house of the former, who was his spiritual guide, and who protected him from the violence of the Terkháns. These unscrupulous chiefs, with all their power, did not dare to touch him, in the sacred asylum which he had chosen; and, in a few days, the rising of the people replaced him on his throne. And, in like manner, when his brother, Sultan Ali, the present sovereign, a prisoner in his turn, had undergone the

Religious guides.

* Báber's Mem. p. 81.

BOOK I. A.D. 1500. operation which was supposed to have deprived him of his eye-sight, and rendered him unfit for public life, he retired to the house of Khwája Yahía, his ghostly father, who soon enabled him to escape to Bokhára.*

Intrigues. From that period a rivalship subsisted between the two holy brothers. Báber, anxious to gain over Khwája Yahía, who was perhaps more attached to the Terkháns than to Sultan Ali, employed persons to enter the city and confer with him in private. The Khwája was too cautious to commit himself by returning any direct answer. He said nothing, however, to make Báber despair of success, and quietly took every measure in his power to smooth the way for his entrance into the city. Báber now moved to the banks of the Dergháin, still nearer to the town, and contrived to send his librarian to the Khwája, who at length told him to make his master advance, and that the city should be given up to him. But one of Báber's chiefs, having unfortunately deserted at this very moment, informed the enemy that a conspiracy was going on. Measures of precaution had in consequence been adopted, which baffled the attempt; and the troops, finding the garrison in a state of preparation, fell back upon the camp. To make up for this failure, Báber was joined by Ibráhím Sáru, and several of the old Begs who had lately been driven from his service by the hostility of Ali Dost, the prime minister. As they were all graciously received, Ali Dost and his son were much offended, and asked leave to retire, a permission which Báber joyfully conceded; whereupon they returned to Andeján and joined Támbol.

Hardly had Báber got relieved from his obnoxious ministers, when news of an alarming nature reached him from Bokhára. Sheibáni Khan, after defeating in the field Báki Terkhán, who had succeeded his father,

* Báber's Memoirs, pp. 39, 40.

Abdal Ali, in the government of that province, had advanced with his Uzbeks and taken possession of the city of Bokhára, and was now in full march towards Samarkand. It may be proper to give some farther account of the previous life of that extraordinary man.*

CHAP. II.

A. D. 1500.

Early life of Sheibáni.

Sheibáni Khan was descended, as we have seen, from Júji, the eldest son of Chengíz Khan. His grandfather was Abulkhair Khan, the formidable Uzbek chief, from whom the Kaizák-Uzbeks seceded, and who was finally defeated and slain by a confederacy of the chiefs of the Kipchák tribes. The immediate consequence of this event was the dissolution of what may be called the Old Uzbek confederacy. Some tribes joined the Kaizák-Uzbeks, who now occupied a large portion of what had been Abulkhair's peculiar range. Other tribes and some chiefs even of his own relations, among others Burga Ughlan, in like manner extended their territory at the expense of his family. The children of Abulkhair who escaped from the bloody field and the slaughter that followed, continued for a time to hold a limited extent of country towards the lower Sirr, on the skirts of the desert, and possessed a considerable body of attached adherents. But the new calamity occasioned by the defeat and death of Bárúj Ughlan, a son of Abulkhair's, in his attempt upon the encampment of Yúnis Khan on the Sirr, completely broke up the old Uzbek tribe and dynasty. Sheibáni, or Sháhi Beg, the son of Shah Bidágh Sultan, another son of Abulkhair, was then in the prime of life; but the tribe was too much shattered and dispersed to admit of being rallied, and the surviving chiefs and their followers, after enduring many hardships, abandoned the country of their fathers. Sháhi Beg, too, who had his share of suffering,

A. H. 877. A. D. 1472.

* He is called by Báber, Sheibáni and Sheibák Khan; by Haider Mírza, Sháhi-Beg Khan; and by Abulgházi, or his translators, Shabacht (Shabakht) Sultan. He was the son of Shah Bidagh Sultan, called also, Budak, Borak, Bidagh, and Shabadakh; only different modes of writing the same name.

BOOK I.

unwillingly quitted the desert, and with about three hundred faithful followers, repaired to Bokhára.

He goes to Bokhára.

He was there received and entertained by Abdal Ali Terkhán, one of the chief Amírs of Sultan Ahmed Mírza who then reigned at Samarkand.* Abdal Ali had married the sister of Sultan Ahmed's mother, who was herself a Terkhán. He long governed Bokhára with nearly absolute authority, and had very numerous followers; and now patronised and protected Sháhi Beg, who owed much of his future rise to his favour. It was probably through his means that he returned to Túrkistán, which was then held by Abdal Ali's brother-in-law, Muhammed Mazíd Terkhán, under the government of Samarkand. When, with the assistance of the Terkháns, Sháhi Beg began to establish himself once more on the border of the desert, the old adherents of his grandfather hastened from the different quarters over which they had been scattered, and came to join his standard, so that by degrees the number of his adherents became considerable; and they were devoted men, confident in the ability and prowess of their chief.

It has been mentioned that among those who had appropriated to themselves portions of the territory of Abulkhair, and tribes of his followers, was Burga Sultan, his cousin, for whom the Khan had always shown a particular friendship, and whom he had occasionally placed in command of his armies. This injury was not forgotten by Sheibáni; who, however, after his return, artfully dissembled his resentment, and lived apparently on the best understanding with Burga; but he only waited for an opportunity for revenge. This opportunity at last came. Burga Sultan having unsuspiciously taken up his winter quarters on the banks of the Sirr, not far from his own, Sheibáni one night

A. H. 886, A. D. 1481

* The Tárikhi Reshídi says that he took service with Abdal Ali; Báber, on the contrary, affirms that, though he lived with him, he did not enter into his service, p. 24.

CHAP. II. A.D 1500.

ordered a number of his people to attend him under pretence of a great hunting match that was to take place on the following day; but at midnight he suddenly set out with them, and in a short time, turning towards the camp of Burga, declared his intention of attacking him, and commanded his men on no account to think of plunder, but to spare no exertions to secure the person of that prince.

Surprises Burga,

Having entered the camp at dawn he pushed on straight to the tent of Burga Sultan, who, however, was not to be found, though his people affirmed that they had seen him just before Sheibáni arrived. Parties were despatched in every direction to pursue and bring back the fugitive; and one of them accordingly returned with a person who acknowledged himself to be Burga Sultan. Sheibáni no sooner saw him than he discovered that he was not Burga. He was found to be one Munga, of the Oighúr tribe, a man of distinction. When questioned by Sheibáni what had induced him to assume his master's name, the Oighúr replied, that he lay under such obligations to that chief that he was willing to sacrifice his own life for his; trusting that, while he was carried back, the pursuit would be relaxed, and Burga might escape. While Sheibáni admired the generosity of the man, he ordered fresh endeavours to be made to discover the fugitive.

The truth was, that Burga, on hearing the noise made by the troops who entered the camp, had started from his sleep, and, throwing over him a fur cloak that was lying by, escaped by the opposite side of the tent; and had thrown himself into a small piece of water that was near at hand, where he remained hid among the long reeds. It had chanced to snow during the night; and the traces of a man's naked foot, marked with blood, were observed in the fresh snow, and followed. They were the footsteps of Burga, who had wounded one of his feet while making his escape. He was

who is slain.

BOOK I. traced out, discovered, and brought before Sheibáni, who now, convinced by his own eyes that there was no mistake, made him be put to death, and was joined by all his tribe. Sheibáni's uncle, Khwája Muhammed Sultan, married the widow of Burga, though she was then with child by her late husband. The offspring was Jani Beg, whom the Khwája, who was not remarkable for his wisdom, affected to consider as his own son.*

Betrays Sultan Ahmed.

On the death of Yúnis Khan we have seen that Sultan Ahmed Mírza of Samarkand led an immense army to recover Táshkend and Seirám from his son Sultan Mahmúd Khan, who defeated the invaders with immense loss on the Chirr. This disaster, according to Haider Mírza, was occasioned by the treachery of Sheibáni. After the Sultan had been stopped three days on the Chirr by the Khan and his Moghuls, Sheibáni, who was then in the Sultan's army, sent a message to the Khan, it is pretended, to ask a private conference. They met during the night, and concerted that in the battle which was expected to be fought next day, the Khan should direct his attack against Mír Abdal's division, in which Sháhi Beg was posted with his troops; the Beg on his part undertaking to abandon his ground, and throw the army into confusion. Next day, accordingly, an action did take place, the Moghuls directed their attack as had been concerted, Sháhi Beg fled, and plundered the baggage of his own army. A general panic ensued, the confusion and rout of the Sultan's army were complete, and numbers were drowned in the Chirr. Such is the account of Haider Mírza, an uncompromising enemy of Sháhi Beg, and therefore a partial witness, though he possessed the best means of information; but it may be remarked that no such insinuation is made by Báber, who was equally his enemy.†

A. H. 893, A. D. 1488.

* Abulgházi, pt. VIII. c. iv. Báber, pp. 21. 24, 25.
† Tar. Resh. ff. 80, 81. 108.

Sultan Mahmúd Khan followed up the victory on the Chirr by the invasion and conquest of Túrkistán. Muhammed Mazíd Terkhán (the brother of Derwísh Muhammed, the Minister of Samarkand, and brother-in-law of Mír Abdal Ali of Bokhára), who was the governor, was taken prisoner, and used as the medium for negotiating a peace with the Sultan of Samarkand, who was also his brother-in-law. The Khan gave up Turkistán, an old possession of the Uzbeks, to Sheibáni; as a reward, it is alleged, for his conduct at the battle of the Chirr. This donation, we have seen, occasioned a misunderstanding and wars between the Khan and the leaders of the Kaizák-Uzbeks, who were hurt by this patronage of their enemy, and was the cause of breaking up the friendship that had long existed between the Moghuls and Kaizáks.*

CHAP. II.

Gets Túrkistán.

While Mír Abdal Ali lived, Sheibáni remained under some degree of control: but on the death of that powerful chief, which happened nearly about the same time as that of his sovereign Sultan Ahmed Mirza, he entered more actively into the interests of the Khan. The influence which he acquired over him was quite extraordinary.† Sheibáni from an early period had habitually aimed at extending his territory, and never scrupled as to the means. He was totally without faith, and bound by no promise or engagement. If any plan which he pursued failed, as frequently was the case, he never wanted an excuse or ready apology. " In this way," says Haider Mírza, " frequent misunderstandings occurred between him and Sultan Mahmúd Khan. The wonder rather was how easily, when occurrences of that kind did take place, his excuses, such as they were, were accepted. To give an example; he was on a time in Túrkistan, and professed all manner of attachment and loyalty to the Khan, who at that

His father's success.

A.H. 899, A.D. 1494.

* Tar. Resh. ff. 83, 84.

† Ibid. f. 119.

BOOK I.

"time set out with an army against Támbol. When he had marched three days, some circumstances occurred which balked his designs, and he was obliged to retrace his steps. Meanwhile Sháhi Beg Khan got news, in Turkístán, that the Khan had begun his march; and, placing the foot of ambition in the stirrup of daring, he set out in person to occupy Táshkend, at the same time sending on Mahmúd Sultan against Seirám, which in old books is called Istiják. While on his road to Táshkend, Sháhi Beg learned that the Khan was on his way back; upon which he instantly despatched a messenger to meet him; to explain, that, hearing that his highness had set out to punish his rebellious servant Támbol, he had made haste to protect Táshkend and his family, children, and followers; (though of a truth, except himself, there was no enemy to hurt them); that, however, as he had subsequently heard that the Khan was on his way back to his capital, he too would return home. He at the same time despatched expresses to overtake Mahmúd Sultan, and to enjoin him on no account to molest the country, but to hurry back. On the Khan's turning back, his army dispersed, and the various Amírs returned home to their governments. Mahmúd, not aware of what had happened, and believing Seirám to be unprotected, began plundering as soon as he entered the country, and before the messengers from Sháhi Beg could arrive. The governor of Seirám, Mír Ahmed, who was Támbol's uncle, but a faithful and attached servant of the Khan, hastened out to meet the invaders, attacked and routed them, taking Mahmúd Sultan himself prisoner, and carried him in bonds into the presence of Sultan Mahmúd Khan, with his hands tied round his neck. The Khan sent to call my father, who immediately came and interceded for his life, which was granted. My father having entreated him most kindly, sent him away.

This laid the foundation of a very close and intimate friendship between my father and Mahmúd Sultan." *

The severe defeat which Sultan Mahmúd Khan sustained at Kanbái from Bayesanghar Mírza, in his invasion of Máwerannaher, did not diminish his desire to seize the throne of Samarkand; but his ministers advised him to change his policy, and instead of invading the country himself, to remain at home and support Sheibáni, till he gained possession of Samarkand and Bokhára; that thus all the trouble and warfare would fall on Sheibáni, who was his creature, while in the end the whole benefit would accrue to himself.

In consequence of this false and foolish policy, the Khan lent his countenance and support to Sheibáni, whose power daily increased. All the adherents of Abulkhair Khan, Sultans, Amírs, and others, who had been scattered abroad on the defeat and death of the great Uzbek chief, and were still wandering in the deserts of Kipchák, or in the neighbouring countries in a state of destitution and dread, hastened to join his grandson in Túrkistán. Bands of bold adventurers from other tribes, ardent for enterprise and greedy for spoil, soon swelled his ranks. He led them into the rich provinces of Transoxiana, which he and his followers had had ample opportunities of surveying as fugitives and exiles. These provinces they now found a prey to faction, and torn with civil war. The barbarians of the desert eyed with "grim delight" the fruits, the harvests, and the wealth of that more favoured region; and returned loaded with the spoils of what they considered as an effeminate population. The army of Sheibáni, which at first consisted chiefly of his own Túrki Uzbeks, in the course of successive inroads was swelled by auxiliaries from the Moghul Khan, and

* Tar. Resh. f. 122. Mahmúd was Sheibáni's brother.

BOOK I. A.D. 1500.

recruited by volunteers and adventurers out of every race between the Wolga and Káshghar.*

We have seen, that, when called in on a former occasion to the succour of Sultan Ali of Samarkand, Sheibáni had advanced close up to Báber's winter quarters, but had drawn off without fighting, to Sultan Ali's great disappointment, and gone home; that he had afterwards returned, defeated Báki Terkhán, the son and successor of his old patron Abdal Ali; had taken Bokhára, and was now in full march towards Samarkand.

Takes Bokhára.

Invades Samarkand;

Sultan Ali Mírza, the nominal ruler of Samarkand, was reduced to great distress, both by the foreign invaders of his kingdom and by his quarrel with the powerful Terkhán lords, who had called in Báber. His mother, Zuhri Begi Agha, who possessed great influence over a weak and inexperienced youth like her son, being herself an Uzbek, and probably feeling a partiality for her tribe, sent a messenger to Sheibáni, in this exigency, to propose to him, that, provided he would engage to marry her, she would make her son deliver Samarkand into his hands; Sheibáni, on his part, undertaking to restore it to him as soon as he recovered his own paternal dominions. The Uzbek chief made no difficulty whatever in acceding to these easy terms. On arriving at Samarkánd he encamped at a garden close to the city. Sultan Ali Mírza, the same day, came out to meet him, without the knowledge of his principal ministers or advisers. His attendants remarked with alarm that the Khan received him with very little ceremony. Khwája Yahía, on hearing what the Mírza had done, was filled with consternation, but seeing no remedy, he also, to save appearances, went out and waited on Sheibáni. The Uzbek, aware of his intrigues, received him without

A.H. 906, Moharrem, A.D. 1500, August.

* Báber's Mem., *passim*, Introd. c. ii., pt. VIII. c. ii.—iv., pt. IX. c. i.; pp. lvii. lix.; Abulgházi, pt. VII. Tar. Resh. f. 118.

rising, and showed his feelings by some bitter taunts which he let fall. Sultan Ali was not long of feeling acutely the degraded situation to which he had reduced himself. He refused, however, to attempt making his escape, and was unceremoniously put to death a few days after. Khwája Yahía was banished to Khorasán, but was waylaid by the Uzbeks and murdered on the road; and the wretched Zuhri Begi, as the reward of all this misery which she had brought on her family and their friends, felt herself degraded to be a mere common concubine in the harem of Sheibáni.*

CHAP. II.

A.D. 1500.

As soon as the approach of Sheibáni Khan from Bokhára had been made known to Báber, he at once perceived that, with his moderate force, it was in vain to think of coping with so formidable an antagonist. He therefore hurriedly broke up the blockade of Samarkand, and instead of attempting to fall back on his own hereditary dominions, now in the hands of his declared enemies, he crossed the rising-grounds to the south-east, and marched towards Kesh, to which place many of the Begs of Samarkand, who had joined him, had previously sent their families. Here he learned the surrender of Samarkand; and not thinking himself safe from the pursuit of Sheibáni even there, he marched eastward to the territory of Hissár-Shadmán, accompanied by Muhammed Mazíd and the other confederate Begs, their wives and families. On arriving at Cheghánián, the Samarkand Begs, separating from the little camp, entered into the service of Khosrou Shah, the powerful ruler of Hissár and Kunduz; and thus left Báber, with his few remaining adherents, to depend on his own exertions.

Zilkajeh, A.H 905, A.D. July, 1500. which he takes; Flight of Báber, by Hissár.

The young prince now once more felt himself in a most destitute and wretched situation, without army, or country, or home. He knew not which way to turn.

Khosrou Shah, his power.

* Báber's Mem. pp. 83, 84.

A.H. 903, A.D. 1497.

We have seen that when Bayesanghar Mírza fled from Samarkánd, at the time when that city was taken by Báber, he had passed through part of the dominions of his brother Masaúd Mírza of Hissár and had placed himself under the protection of Khosrou Shah of Kunduz. That ambitious chief soon after, displeased with Masaúd, took possession of Hissár, in which he set up Bayesanghar as king, with a nominal and short-lived authority. Sultan Masaúd meanwhile, who made his escape, repaired to Herát. There he was well received by Sultan Husein, whose court in that age was the great asylum of unfortunate princes. He soon after, however, most unaccountably left that monarch's pro-

A.H. 903, A.D. 1498.

tection to go back to Khosrou Shah. That unprincipled man, though he had been the prince's guardian and governor, cruelly put out his eyes. In less than a twelvemonth afterwards, Khosrou Shah, having invited Bayesanghar Mírza from Hissár to join in an attack upon Balkh, treacherously seized him and his chief Amírs, while in his camp on their route to that city,

A.H. 905, 10 Moharrem, A.D. 1499, 17 Aug.

and strangled them with the bowstring. He at the same time put to death all such of the chief and confidential servants of the murdered prince as could occasion him any uneasiness, and seized the whole territories of Hissár. This event, which happened little more than twenty months after Bayesanghar Mírza had been driven from Samarkand, left Khosrou Shah the undisputed ruler of all the extensive dominions that had belonged to Sultan Mahmúd Mírza, before he was called to the throne of Samarkand.*

Báber's distress.

The death of Bayesanghar had occurred not quite a year before Báber entered the territories of Khosrou Shah. To remain in the dominions of the murderer of one, and the unprincipled oppressor of several of his nearest kinsmen was revolting to Báber's feelings. It

* Báber, pp. 60—63.

gave him pain, he tells us, even to pass through them. Distracted by the difficulty of his situation, he thought of attempting, by traversing Karatigín, to reach the tents of his mother's younger brother, Ahmed or Ilacheh Khan, who governed the great body of the tribe of Moghuls, in the remoter wilds of Tartary. Finally, however, he made up his mind to return into the country which he had lately left, and with which he was familiar, and crossing the lofty mountains on the north-west of Hissár, to meet whatever fortune awaited him in the fields of Samarkand.

He crosses the hills.

Entering, therefore, the valley of the Kámrúd, Báber followed the course of the river in its windings and cataracts among the hills. Many of his remaining followers, worn out with the difficulties of the journey over these mountain barriers, discouraged by his ill success, and seeing no prospect of a change, forsook him and turned back. For four or five days, the few faithful friends and servants who still adhered to his fortunes, toiled over the dangerous roads that led along the edge of the deep precipices, and winded up the narrow passes and steep shelving banks of that mountainous tract. Many of their horses and camels failed from fatigue, and were left behind. At length they came to the Pass of Sir-e-ták, "and such a pass!" says Báber; "never in my life did I traverse paths so narrow and so precipitous. We travelled on, with incredible fatigue and difficulty, amid dangerous narrows and tremendous gulphs. Having surmounted these steep, straight, and murderous defiles, after incredible losses and suffering, we at length came down on the confines of Kán." *

When Báber descended these mountains on the west, the long circuit which he had made, for the purpose of avoiding his enemies, brought him down upon the town

* Báber's Mem. pp. 60. 63. 72. 85.

BOOK I. A.D. 1500.

and district of Kán. Here he, at length, gained correct intelligence of all that had occurred since the arrival of Sheibáni Khan. He found that on the taking of Samarkand, all his own officers had retired from the neighbourhood of the city, and were dispersed in various quarters; that Ibráhím Terkhán had thrown himself into Shíraz, and that Kamber Ali, abandoning the fort of Khwája Didár as too near the capital to be defensible, had withdrawn to Yar-ailák, and attempted to put the fortresses there in a state of defence. Meeting with but an inhospitable reception from the Malek of the hill-country of Kán, Báber descended to the lower grounds, and, with his usual spirit, pushed on for Keshtúd, one of the nearest towns to Samarkand; hoping to surprise the Uzbeks who, he imagined, would be in possession of the place, and not looking for an enemy. On reaching it, however, he found Keshtúd in ruins, and not a man left in the town. Advancing still, he at length halted on the Kohik, a river of Samarkand. He passed it by a bridge, and despatched Kásim Beg with a party to attempt to surprise Robát-Khwája. They were just applying their scaling ladders to ascend the walls, when the garrison was alarmed, which compelled the assailants to retreat at full speed. Báber himself meanwhile had continued his course to Yar-ailák, where he was joined by Kamber Ali, while Ibráhím Terkhán and some other Begs sent to offer him their congratulations, and to declare their steady adherence to his cause.

Approaches Samarkand,

In spite of this assistance, his force was so small, and his situation so desperate, that none but a man of the most heroic ardour would have ventured to think of extricating himself from his difficulties, except by retreat. His army had been broken up and dispersed. His own dominions were in the hands of his enemies, so that he could look for no aid from them; since even such of his late subjects as were still attached to him,

were too much dispirited by recent events to be expected to join him. If, when his army was entire, he could not face Sheibáni Khan, still less could he be expected to do so now that it was broken and scattered in every quarter. Sheibáni was encamped near Khwája Didár with seven or eight thousand men, and had a garrison of five or six hundred in Samarkand. Khamzeh Sultan and Mehdi Sultan, with their Uzbeks, who some years before had left Báber's service for Sheibáni's, were encamped close by, with a large body of their followers, amounting to about two thousand fighting men. Báber, on the contrary, with all his exertions could not muster more than two hundred and forty followers. But he saw that if he had any chance of retrieving his affairs, it could only be by bold measures; and of all the plans that suggested themselves to his imagination, the surprise of Samarkand, though a daring enterprise, was that which he cherished as offering the best prospect of success, and which he finally determined to adopt. With great sagacity he reflected, that as yet the inhabitants could have formed no connections with their barbarous conquerors, whom they must regard with hatred and disgust; and he trusted that, if he could enter the place, and get over the first difficulties, he would be hailed by the whole of the citizens as a warrior of the race of their ancient sovereigns, sent to deliver them from their barbarous enemies. If anything, however, was to be done, it must be while things were yet unsettled, and not a moment was to be lost.

which he resolves to surprize,

Intent on his plan, the very conception of which in a fugitive hunted from place to place, indicated that superiority of genius that distinguished him through life, Báber left his retired quarters about noon, and rode briskly a great part of the night. By midnight he had reached his old quarters of Yurat-Khán; but finding the garrison of the city on the alert, he did not

but he fails.

BOOK I.

A.D. 1500

venture to approach nearer, and regained Yar-ailák next morning.

His state of mind

Some little circumstances mentioned by Báber show how much at this time his mind was absorbed with the great enterprise which he had conceived. "One day," says he, "I happened to be in the castle of Asfendek with some of my inferior nobles and officers, who were sitting on the ground talking around me. The conversation turned at random upon a variety of subjects. I happened to say, 'Come, let us hit on a lucky guess, and may God make it good! When shall we take Samarkand?' Some said, 'In the spring:' it was then harvest; some said, 'In a month;' some, 'In forty days;' some, 'In twenty.' Nevian Gokultásh said, 'We shall take it within a fortnight;' and the Almighty made true his words, for within a fortnight we did take it. About the same time I had a remarkable dream. I thought that the venerable Khwája Obeid-ulla had come to visit me. I went out to receive him, and the Khwája came in and sat down. Methought a table was laid for him, but not perhaps with sufficient attention to neatness; at which the holy man seemed to be somewhat offended. Mulla Baba, observing this, made me a sign. I answered him likewise by signs, that the fault was not mine, but that of the person who had laid the table-cloth. The Khwája perceived what passed, and seemed satisfied with my excuse. When he rose to depart, I attended him out; but, in the hall of the house, he appeared to take me by one of my arms, and to lift me up so high that one of my feet was raised from the ground, while he said to me in Túrki, '*Skeikh Maslehet berdi*' (Sheikh Maslehet prosper you'). A few days after this dream, I took Samarkand." *

Undeterred by his former failure, he resolved to

* Báber's Mem. pp. 86, 87. Sheikh Maslehet was a celebrated saint of Khojend.

Another attempt successful.

hazard an attempt once more. He set out after noon from his quarters in the hills, and at midnight reached the bridge over the Meghák, which runs by the public pleasure-ground of the city. Halting there, he sent on seventy or eighty of his best men, with instructions to apply their scaling ladders to the part of the wall that was opposite to the place called the Lovers' Cave*; when they had gained the parapet they were to push on against the party that guarded the Firozá gate, of which they were to gain and keep possession, and then to apprise Báber of their success by a messenger. The escalade succeeded. The top of the wall was gained without alarming the garrison, and the assailants moved along the ramparts as concerted; attacked and slew the officer in command at the gate, with a number of the guard; broke the lock and bars of the gate with hatchets, and flung it open. At the same moment Báber arrived on the outside, and entered. So far his enterprise was achieved by his own immediate adherents; but his other followers soon joined him. When he entered the town, the citizens were fast asleep. On hearing the uproar, the shopkeepers, he tells us, began to peep out fearfully from behind their doors, but were delighted when they found what had happened. The citizens, as soon as they were informed of Báber's entrance, being heartily tired of their barbarous masters, hailed him and his followers with acclamations of joy. They instantly rose and attacked the Uzbeks who were scattered over the town, hunting them down with sticks and stones wherever they could be found, and put to death between four and five hundred of them. The chief men of Samarkand, as well as the merchants and shopkeepers, now hastened to congratulate the young Sultan at his quarters, bringing him offerings and presents, with food ready dressed for him and his fol-

* Mogbári Ashikán.

BOOK I.

A.D. 1500.

lowers, at the same time pouring out prayers for their success. Báber, therefore, repaired to the college of Ulugh Beg, and took his seat under the great dome to receive the congratulations of all who came to salute him. Here, about daybreak, news was brought that the Uzbeks, though driven from every other part of the city, were still in possession of the Iron Gate. Without delay he leaped upon his horse, and accompanied by fifteen or twenty of his men who happened to be near him, galloped to the spot; but, on arriving, found that the mob had already assailed and driven them out of the town. Just as the sun was rising, Sheibáni Khan, with about a hundred and fifty horse, was seen spurring on for the Iron gate, but found as he came near that it was no longer in the hands of his troops. In the rapidity of his approach, he had left the rest of his army behind. "It was a glorious opportunity," says Báber, "but I had with me only a mere handful of men." Sheibáni, finding that he was too late, rode back to meet his main body.

Báber, still only in his eighteenth year, was elated with this signal success, achieved by his own sagacity and heroic spirit. He compares it with pride to the surprise of Herát by Sultan Hussein Mírza, Baikera, of Khorásán *, the grand exploit of the most celebrated prince of the age, and justly gives it the preference. But though he thus saw himself in possession of a noble capital, the smallest part of his work was yet accomplished. It was necessary to defend his throne by the same activity and valour, by which it had been gained. His enemies were powerful, the country wasted, his own force but slender. Fortunately he had the affections of his new subjects. To relieve them, to have his followers more immediately under his own eye, and to watch the motions of the enemy, his first care was

* Memoirs, p. 88.

to march out of the city, and to encamp at a garden-palace in the suburbs. Here he was again waited upon by all the men in office, as well as by every person of consideration in the place, who all offered him their homage. The more polished and effeminate inhabitants, of a great city viewed the rapacity, the rude manners, the strange and barbarous attire of the Uzbeks, fresh from their deserts, with mixed feelings of aversion and terror. The peasantry too, and the people of the villages, were naturally no less anxious to be delivered from the ravages of an insolent and marauding enemy. As soon as the young Sultan's success at Samarkand was known, many districts at once declared for him, several forts were put into his hands, and from many others the Uzbeks fled, without leaving a garrison. The inhabitants of some of the towns rose upon their Uzbek garrisons, whom they expelled; and repaired their walls to resist a new attack. At this crisis the wife and family of Sheibáni Khan, whom he had sent for from Túrkistán to settle in a richer country and a more propitious climate, arrived with their own heavy baggage, and that of the other Uzbeks. Sheibáni still lingered for some time near Samarkand; but at length finding the whole country hostile to him, and that the forts were rapidly falling into Báber's power, he called in his troops and marched for Bokhára, turning unwillingly his back on the splendid prize which had escaped from his grasp.

Sheibáni retires.

The tide of fortune had now turned against Sheibáni. In the three or four succeeding months, most of the fortified places in Soghd and Miánkál, provinces that lie between Samarkand and Bokhára, submitted to Báber. The districts of Khozar and Karshi, which are situated south of Samarkand, towards the Amu, were taken possession of by Báki Terkhán, the late governor of Bokhára; while that of Karakúl, which lies to the south of Bokhára, was seized by a force that came from Merv, from

BOOK I.

A.D. 1500-1.

beyond the Amu. The Uzbeks were expelled in every quarter, retaining possession of Bokhára alone.*

Báber's difficulties, A. H. 906, A. D. 1500-1.

But though Báber's affairs went on prosperously during the ensuing winter, he was far from being without anxiety or free from danger. The Uzbeks, though driven from Samarkand, possessed the populous city of Bokhára and its fertile territory, and could recruit their force by drawing repeated swarms of hardy barbarians from the deserts. Samarkand, that once wealthy, populous, and powerful city, the seat of the arts and of learning, which for more than a hundred and forty years had been the throne of Báber's ancestors, had, as well as its rich territory, recently suffered from misgovernment, from repeated revolutions, and the ravages of hostile and of friendly armies. Its resources were reduced, much of its wealth destroyed or removed, and time was required to repair its losses, and restore the credit and confidence of its inhabitants. As the military forces of the kingdom were, at the moment, very inadequate to its defence, the young king sent ambassadors to all the neighbouring princes to solicit assistance. From his own hereditary dominions Támbol sent him only one hundred men; Sultan Mahmúd Khán, his uncle, sent him four or five hundred from Táshkend; Sultan Hussein Mírza of Herát, the most powerful of them all, gave him no aid whatever; nor did he receive any from that prince's son, Badi-ez-zemán Mírza, of Balkh, or from Khosrou Shah of Kunduz. He was compelled, therefore, to depend entirely on his own limited resources.†

Sheibáni advances from Bokhára.

Though Sheibáni had found it expedient to retreat, his power was unbroken. Early in the spring he collected his army. The party that had occupied Karakúl was unable to maintain it. Sheibáni marched and invested the fort of Dabúsi in Soghd, took it by storm,

* Báber, pp. 86—89.

† Ibid. pp. 90, 91.

and put the garrison to the sword. This success compelled Báber to take the field about the beginning of May. He proceeded by slow marches on the road to Bokhára, while Sheibáni Khan, advancing in the opposite direction, encamped about four miles from him. Báber fortified his camp with a palisade and ditch. Daily skirmishes took place between their advanced parties and pickets. Sheibáni attempted a night surprise, but found the camp too well fortified and guarded to be carried by a slight attack, and was forced to retire.

CHAP. II. A. D. 1501. Shawal, A. H. 906, A. D. 1501. The armies face each other,

A battle, however, seemed inevitable, and Báber's mind was evidently fixed on the preparations for it. Perhaps this state of excitement working on his military ardour rendered him too impatient, for he resolved to hazard an engagement, though reinforcements to the amount of two or three thousand men would have joined him in the course of two days. The delusions of judicial astrology lent their aid to mislead him. "The cause of my eagerness to engage," says he, "was that the sahs-yúldúz (eight stars) were on that day exactly between the two armies; and, if I had suffered that day to elapse, they would have become favourable to the enemy for the space of thirteen or fourteen days." "These observations," adds the Sultan, "were all nonsense, and my precipitation was without the least solid excuse."*

The armies prepared for battle. Báber's marched out, the men clad in armour, the horses caparisoned and covered with cloth of mail. They were in four divisions, consisting of right wing and left, centre and advance, according to the fashion of the times. As they moved forward, with their right flank on the river Kohik, which runs from Samarkand towards Bokhára, they were met by the enemy drawn up ready to receive them. The hostile army was far the most numerous,

and engage.

* Báber's Mem. p. 92.

BOOK I.

A.D. 1501.

and the extremity of its right turned Báber's left flank, and wheeled upon his rear. This compelled him to change his position by throwing back his left; in doing which, his advance, which was posted in front of the centre, and composed of his best men and officers, was necessarily thrown to the right. The battle was nevertheless manfully supported, and the assailants in front driven back on their centre. It was even thought at one time, by Sheibáni's best officers, that the battle was lost; and they advised him to quit the field. Meanwhile, however, the enemy's flanking division, having driven in Báber's left, attacked his centre in the rear, pouring in showers of arrows; and the whole left of his line being thus forced in and thrown into disorder, that, with the centre, became a scene of inextricable confusion. Only ten or fifteen men remained around the Sultan.

Báber defeated;

They, seeing that all was over, rode off towards the right wing, which had rested on the river; and on gaining its banks plunged in, armed as they were. "For more than half way over," says Báber, "we had firm footing; but after that we sank beyond our depths, and were forced, for upwards of a bow-shot, to swim our horses, loaded as they were with their riders in armour and their own trappings. Yet they plunged through it. On getting out of the water on the other side, we cut off our horses' heavy furniture and threw it away." * The enemy were not able to follow them. The royal fugitive kept for some time along the right bank of the river, and afterwards recrossing it higher

reaches Samarkand,

up, reached Samarkand the same evening.

No defeat could be more complete; many of Báber's bravest and most experienced officers, among others Ibráhím Terkhán, Ibráhím Sáru, and Khalíl, the brother of Támbol, with numbers of his best soldiers, perished

* Báber's Mem. p. 93.

in the field. The fugitives and stragglers were pursued, plundered, and cut off; an operation in which none were more active than the Moghuls of Báber's own army. The officers who survived the battle, persuaded that nothing could now resist Sheibáni Khan, scattered in various directions. Muhammed Mazíd Terkhán, who had once more joined Báber, fled to Khosrou Shah in Kúnduz: some escaped to Uratippa; Kamber Ali and others, after reaching Samarkand, hastily removed their families from it, as from a place doomed to destruction. A very few remained in the city, following the fortune of their prince.* CHAP. II. A. D. 1501.

Báber lost no time in summoning a council of such Begs and officers as adhered to him after this great calamity. It was resolved to put the town in a state of defence, and to maintain it to the last extremity. The young Sultan fixed his head-quarters at the Grand Porch of Ulugh Beg's College, which was near the centre of the city; and, with Kásim Beg, was himself to command the reserve. The other Begs and officers had their stations assigned in different parts of the ramparts, and at the gates. Which he resolves to defend.

In the course of two or three days Sheibáni Khan made his appearance, and took up a position at some distance from the town. The idle rabble, on hearing of his approach, assembled in crowds from all the wards and lanes of Samarkand, elated, probably, with their former success against his garrison, in the street; hurried to Báber's head-quarters at the college, shouting aloud, "Glory to the prophet;" and then marched out clamorously to battle. Sheibáni Khan, who had his troops ready mounted at the time, and was just preparing to lead them to an assault, not aware, probably, of the composition of this motley body, did not venture to approach the place, as he had intended, and fell back. Skirmishes

* Baber's Mem. pp. 93, 94.

BOOK I. A.D. 1501.

This only added to the presumption of the inexperienced mob. They had even the presumption to march out to a considerable distance from the gates, in spite of the remonstrances of the old and hardy veterans, who received nothing but abuse and insult in return for their advice.

One day, not long after, Sheibáni Khan made an attack on the side of the Iron Gate. The mob, whose confidence had been increasing in consequence of their having as yet met with no check, marched out farther than usual. Báber, afraid of the consequences, ordered a party of horse to follow them, and cover their retreat. The Uzbeks, watching their opportunity, suddenly attacked the undisciplined multitude, broke in among them, and cutting them down, chased the fugitives up towards the gate. Báber's cavalry, chiefly composed of his household troops, then interposed. "Kuch Beg, sallying forth on those Uzbeks who came up first," says Báber," attacked them sabre in hand, and made a gallant and distinguished figure, in sight of all the inhabitants who stood looking on. The fugitives, occupied solely with their flight, had ceased to shoot arrows, or to think of fighting for their ground. I shot from the top of the gateway with a cross-bow, and those who were along with me also kept up a discharge. This shower of arrows from above prevented the Uzbeks from advancing, and, in the end, they were forced to retire from the field." This event effectually checked the rashness of the well-disposed but undisciplined populace.*

Báber was now completely blockaded and the city in a state of siege. The rounds of the ramparts and other works were made regularly every night, sometimes by himself, sometimes by one of his principal officers; a business which occupied them from sunset to morning.

* Baber's Mem. p 95.

Escalade defeated.

Sheibáni Khan, whose activity never slumbered, on one occasion made an attack by day, between the Iron and the Sheikh-zádeh Gates. Báber, who happened to be then with the reserve, instantly led it to repel the assailants. But this was only a false attack; and, while the young prince was busy in repelling it, the real assault took place in an opposite quarter. There Sheibáni had placed seven or eight hundred men in ambush, who, when the attention of the besieged was wholly engrossed by the false attack, issued from their concealment, made a lodgment close under the rampart, and applied to the walls five or six and twenty scaling ladders, so broad that each admitted of two or three men mounting abreast to the assault. Kuch Beg, who had charge of that part of the rampart, had his quarters exactly opposite to the spot where they appeared. "As there was fighting on the other side," says Báber, "the persons in charge of these works were not apprehensive of any danger to *their* posts, and the men at these stations had dispersed on their own business, to go to their houses, or to the bazárs. The Begs who were on guard, had each only two or three of their attendants and servants about them. Nevertheless Kuch Beg, Muhammed Kúli Kochin, Shah Súfi, and another brave cavalier, boldly assailed them, and displayed signal heroism. Some of the enemy had already mounted the wall, and several others were in the act of scaling it, when these four persons arrived on the spot, fell upon them with the greatest bravery, sword in hand, and, dealing furious blows around them, drove the assailants back over the wall, and put them to flight. Kuch Beg distinguished himself above all the rest, and this was an exploit to be for ever cited to his honour. He twice during this siege performed excellent service by his valour. The alarm being given, the neighbouring posts were on the alert, and, after fruitless

BOOK I.

A.D. 1501

efforts, the Uzbeks retired completely baffled on all sides.*

Blockade continued.

But though, after this, Kásim Beg made a successful sally, beat back the Uzbeks, and, to use the language of the times, brought in a few heads, the situation of the town did not improve. The harvest had arrived, but no supply of corn had found its way within the beleaguered walls. The siege had now lasted a long while; the provisions originally in the place, which had never been victualled for a siege, were expended. "The inhabitants," says Báber himself, "were reduced to extreme distress, and things came to such a pass, that the poor and meaner sort were reduced to feed on dogs' and asses' flesh. Grain for the horses becoming scarce, we were obliged to feed them on the leaves of trees, and it was ascertained from experience, that the leaves of the mulberry and blackwood † answered best. Many used the shavings and raspings of wood, which they soaked in water, and gave to their horses."‡

For three or four months of this period, Sheibáni Khan, renouncing active operations, did not approach the fort, but kept every passage to it blocked up, and changed his ground from time to time. After this he approached by night, beating his kettle-drums and raising the war shout, as if for an assault; so that the garrison, exhausted as it was, was constantly kept in alarm, and compelled to be ever on the alert. Night after night was this repeated, till the strength of the small garrison was quite worn out. Things now appeared desperate. None of the neighbouring princes seemed to take any interest in what was going forward; no provisions or supplies of any kind arrived. The soldiers and inhabitants lost all hope, and began to make their escape from the town in small parties.

* Báber's Mem. pp. 95, 96.

† Kara-igháj.

‡ Báber's Mem. p. 96.

Sheibáni Khan, knowing their distress, moved nearer to the city, and encamped near the Lovers' Cave; in consequence of which Báber also moved his head-quarters in the same direction, to be near and to watch him. At this unpropitious moment, when he could no longer be of use, Uzun Hassan, the grand instigator of the revolt of Jehángír Mírza, contrived to enter the town with ten or fifteen followers. The famine was already at its height. Even men about the Sultan's person, and high in his confidence, unable any longer to bear the grinding pressure of the misery by which they were worn out, began to let themselves down from the walls and make their escape. There was no longer room even to conceive any hope of a successful defence. In these circumstances, Sheibáni Khan proposed a capitulation on terms. "Had I had the slightest expectation of relief," says Báber, "or had any stores remained in the place, never would I have listened to him. Compelled however by necessity, a sort of capitulation was agreed upon; and about midnight I left the town, by the Sheikh-zádeh gate, accompanied by my mother the Khanum. Two ladies besides escaped with us, the one of them Bechega Khalífa, the other Mingelik Gokultásh. My eldest sister, Khanzádeh Begum, was intercepted, and fell into hands of Sheibáni Khan, as we left the city on this occasion." Of this capitulation Báber evidently speaks unwillingly, and in few words; but his cousin, Haider Mírza, informs us that the marriage of Báber's sister, Khanzadeh Begum, to the Khan, was one of the articles of the treaty, and part of the price paid for his unmolested escape. She married Sheibáni and had a son by him, who died young. Samarkand had sustained a siege of about five months, when it fell, probably in the month of September, A.D. 1501.*

CHAP II

A.D. 1501

Capitulation.

A.H. 907, A.D. 1501.

* Báber's Mem. pp. 97, 98.; Tar. Resh. ff. 125. 156. Sheibani Khan, when he took Samarkand the first time, had married Meher-nigar

BOOK I.

A. D. 1501.

Báber's account of his journey after he was driven from the capital, which for the second time he had enjoyed during so short a period, is lively and interesting. He was still only in his nineteenth year. In quitting Samarkand, "having got entangled among the great branches of the canals of the Soghd, during the darkness of the night," says he, "we lost our way; and after encountering many difficulties, passed Khwája Didár about dawn. By the time of early morning prayers we arrived at the hill of Karbogh, and passing it on the north, below the village of Khardek, we made for Ilán-úti. On the road I had a race with Kamber Ali and Kásim Beg. My horse got the lead. As I turned round on my seat, to see how far I had left them behind, my saddle-girth being slack, the saddle turned round, and I came to the ground, right on my head. Although I immediately sprang up and mounted, yet I did not recover the full command of my faculties till the evening; and the world, and all that occurred at the time, passed before my eyes and apprehension like a dream or a phantasy, and disappeared. The time of afternoon prayers was over ere we reached Ilán-úti, where we alighted, and having killed a horse, cut him up, and dressed slices of his flesh. We staid a little time to rest our horses, then mounting again, before daybreak next morning we alighted at the village of Khalíla, whence we proceeded to Dizak. Táher Duldái was at that time the governor. Here we had nice fat flesh, bread of fine flour well-baked, delicious melons, and excellent grapes in the greatest profusion; thus passing from the extreme of famine to abundance, and

Khanum, the eldest sister of Báber's mother, and consequently the maternal aunt of his sister Khanzádeh. Sheibáni now divorced the aunt that he might marry the niece. By Khanzádeh he had a son, Khurram, to whom he gave Balkh, but who died young. He afterwards divorced her also, being jealous of her partiality to the interests of her brother Báber, whose favourite sister she was.

from danger and suffering, to security and enjoyment." —"In my whole life, I never enjoyed myself so much." —"It has been my lot," he adds, "four or five times, in the course of my life, to pass in a similar manner from distress and suffering to enjoyment and ease; but this was the first time I had ever been so circumstanced, and most keenly did I feel the transition from the injuries of my enemy, and the gnawings of absolute hunger, to the charms of security and the delights of plenty. Having rested and enjoyed ourselves two or three days in Dizak, we proceeded on to Uratippa." By the road he turned aside to visit his old quarters at Besháger.*

CHAP. II.
A. D. 1501.

* Baber's Mem. p 98

CHAPTER III.

SHEIBÁNI'S CONQUEST OF TÁSHKEND AND FERGHÁNA — EXPULSION OF BÁBER.

BÁBER VISITS THE KHAN. — RETURNS TO DEHKÁT. — HIS MODE OF LIFE. — REVISITS THE KHAN. — ARRIVAL OF THE YOUNGER KHAN. — THE KHANS INVADE FERGHÁNA. — BÁBER SURPRIZED BY TÁMBOL, AND WOUNDED. — TÁMBOL, HARD PRESSED, CALLS IN SHEIBÁNI. — AFFAIR OF AKHSI. — BÁBER DRIVEN OUT. — HIS FLIGHT AND DANGER. — THE KHANS DEFEATED AND TAKEN PRISONERS BY SHEIBÁNI, WHO CONQUERS TÁSHKEND. — ARE SET AT LIBERTY. — DEATH OF THE YOUNGER KHAN. — TÁMBOL REMAINS IN POSSESSION OF FERGHÁNA. — ATTACKED BY SHEIBÁNI: BESIEGED IN ANDEJÁN: SURRENDERS, AND IS PUT TO DEATH. — BÁBER ABANDONS FERGHÁNA. — SUBSEQUENT HISTORY AND DEATH OF THE ELDER KHAN. — DISPERSION OF THE TRIBE OF CHAGHATÁI MOGHULS.

BOOK I.

A.D. 1501.

Báber visits Uratippa,

As Ferghána was now in the hands of Jehángír Mírza and Sultan Ahmed Támbol, Báber did not venture to revisit his old dominions. Uratippa was possessed, under the Khan, by Muhammed Husein Mírza, Doghlat, the husband of Báber's aunt, whom the fugitive king visited, and who agreed to let him have the village of Dehkát for his winter quarters. In Dehkát Báber left

and the elder Khan.

his baggage, and in a few days set out for Táshkend, where he waited upon his uncle Sultan Mahmúd, the Khan, and saw a number of his maternal relations. The Khan was prevailed upon to give him Uratippa; but on the young Sultan's return to that country, Muhammed Husein, probably by an understanding with

His life at Dehkát.

the Khan, refused to give it up. Báber therefore was obliged to repair to Dehkát, the district which the Mírza had assigned to him. It lies on the skirts of a high mountain: the inhabitants were not Túrks, but

Sarts or Tájíks, and of course speaking the Persian tongue, though Báber remarks it as singular that they had large flocks of sheep and brood mares, like the wanderers of the desert. Their sheep might be about forty thousand in number. He and his followers lived in the houses of the peasants and shepherds. In this quiet retreat, his young and elastic mind soon recovered from the pressure of the misfortunes which had lately weighed upon it. "I lived," says he, "in the house of one of the head men of the place. He was an aged man, seventy or eighty years old. His mother was still alive, and had attained an extreme old age, being at this time a hundred and eleven. One of this lady's relations had accompanied the army of Taimur Beg, when he invaded Hindustan. The circumstances remained fresh in her memory, and she often told us stories on that subject. In the district of Dehkát alone, there still were of this lady's children, grandchildren, great-grandchildren, and great-great-grandchildren, to the number of ninety-six persons in life; and, including those deceased, the whole amounted to two hundred. One of her great-grandchildren was at this time a young man of twenty-five or twenty-six years of age, with a fine black beard. While I remained in Dehkát, I was accustomed to walk on foot all about the hills in the neighbourhood. I generally went out barefoot; and, from this habit of walking barefoot, I found that our feet soon became so hardened that we did not mind rock or stone in the least. In one of these walks, one day, between afternoon and evening prayers, having lost the road, we met a man who was going with a cow in a narrow path. I asked him the way. He answered, keep your eye fixed on the cow, and do not lose sight of her, till you come to the issue of the road, when you will know where you are. Kwája Ased-ulla, who was with me, enjoyed the joke,

BOOK I. A.D. 1501.

observing, 'What would become of us wise men were the cow to lose her way?'"* In some of these incidents we may trace a resemblance to the boyhood of Henri Quatre, wandering barefooted among the simple and hardy peasants of the mountains of his native Béarn; a training which he often acknowledged had fitted him more easily to endure and surmount the hardships of his future life. Adversity and difficulties in their early days have been, for obvious reasons, the best school for princes who were destined to become great. The stories told to Báber by the aged lady, in this remote village, concerning the wonders of India, probably fired his youthful imagination, and may have assisted in implanting that ardent desire, which he tells us, he felt, at a later period, of visiting that distant land; and the fulfilment of which led to the most celebrated achievement of his life.

It was now winter, and many of his remaining followers, whom the season hindered from going out on plundering parties, asked leave to go to Andeján. Kásim Beg, his chief minister, advised him to take that opportunity of sending some article of his dress to his brother Jehángír Mírza, as a present. He accordingly agreed to send him a cap of ermine. The Beg then asked him, "What great harm would there be in sending some present to Támbol?" "Though I did not altogether approve of this," continues Báber, "yet, induced by the pressing instances of Kásim Beg, I sent Támbol a large sword, which had been made in Samarkand for Nevián Gokultásh, from whom I took it. This was the very sword that afterwards came down on my own head, as shall be mentioned in the events of the ensuing year."†

While Báber was thus engaged, Sheibáni Khan having taken possession of Samarkand and the territories

* Báber's Mem. p. 100. † Ibid.

CHAP. III.

A. D. 1501-2.

Sheibáni invades Shahrokhía.

around it, a misunderstanding arose between him and the Moghul Khan, which speedily broke out into open hostilities. The Khan had hitherto supported Sheibáni in all his conquests, weakly persuading himself that they were made on his account, as they were made under his protection. He now probably began to discover that Sheibáni was acting for himself. However that may be, the Uzbek Khan marched in the midst of winter to attack his late patron and protector, and having passed the Sirr on the ice, ravaged Shahrokhía and Beshkent. No sooner did this intelligence reach Báber, than, accompanied by his small train of followers, he rode off to succour his uncle. "It was wonderfully cold," says he, "and the wind of Há-derwísh had lost none of its violence, and blew keen. So intense was the cold that in the course of two or three days we lost two or three persons from its severity. I required to bathe, on account of my religious purifications, and went down for that purpose to a rivulet which was frozen on the banks, but not in the middle, from the rapidity of the current. I plunged into the water and dived sixteen times. Its extreme chillness quite penetrated me." * When Báber had passed the Sirr and arrived at Beshkent, he found that Sheibáni had retreated, after plundering the country up to the walls of Shahrokhía. Despatching a messenger to the Khan with this intelligence, he went on to Ahengerán, where he received accounts of the death of Nevián Gokultásh, his foster brother, an event not unattended with suspicions of violence. "The truth," says Báber, "no man can know. His death affected me deeply. There are few persons for whose death I have felt so much. I wept incessantly for a week or ten days." It is very delightful to find such warmth of attachment in a young prince. But all Báber's social affections were

* Báber's Mem. p. 100.

BOOK I.

A.D. 1502.

naturally keen and ardent; and from the nature of his early life he had escaped that tendency to selfishness, which flattery and the indulgence of every wish as soon as it is excited, generate in every situation of life, as well as upon the throne. He now returned to his winter quarters in Dehkát.

Báber in Masíkha. A.H 907, A.D. 1502.

With the return of spring, Sheibáni advanced against Uratippa. As Dehkát was in the low country at the foot of the hills, and therefore liable to be overrun by an invading enemy, Báber left it, and passed by Ab-burden, to the mountainous country of Masíkha, where he remained some time. There is so much interest in the various little incidents which Báber relates of his youthful wanderings, and it is so seldom that Asiatic history descends to such familiar incidents, that, in spite of the length to which this narrative has been extended, we may still continue to follow him for some time longer. "Ab-burden," says he, "is a village which lies at the foot of Masíkha. Beneath Ab-burden is a spring, and close by the spring is a tomb. From this spring towards the upland, the country belongs to Masíkha; but downwards from the spring it depends on Yelghár. On one of the sides of a rock which is on the brink of this fountain, I caused the following verses to be carved:—

"'I have heard that the illustrious Jemshíd
Inscribed these words on a stone, beside a fountain:—
Many a man, like us, has rested by this fountain,
And disappeared in the twinkling of an eye.
Should we conquer the whole world by our manhood and valour,
Yet what part of it could we carry with us to the grave?'"*

In these highlands, the practice of cutting verses and other inscriptions on the rocks is extremely common. While in Masíkha he had a visit from Múlla Hajári, the poet; and, to soothe the hours of his exile, he exercised

* Verses from the Bóstan of Sádi.

himself in poetical attempts in the Túrki, his native tongue.* CHAP. III.

A.D. 1502.

When Báber was informed that Sheibáni Khan had actually advanced into Uratippa, in spite of the fewness of his followers and their bad equipment, leaving his household and baggage in Masíkha, he marched down from the hills, so as to reach Dehkát about the end of the night, intending to hover on the enemy's flank and seize any accidental advantage that offered. But he found that Sheibáni had retired immediately after laying the country waste. Báber therefore retraced his steps to his mountain abode. Sheibáni ravages Uratippa.

Here he naturally began to reflect upon his own situation. It was evident that to continue wandering an exile on barren mountains, without house or home, could lead to nothing, and was throwing away his time. He resolved, therefore, to visit once more his uncle the Khan, and to attempt to interest him in his behalf. In pursuance of this determination he proceeded by the pass of Ab-burden; was at Shahrokhía on the great Muhammedan festival of the Id-e-korbán; and joined the Khan at Táshkend, his capital. Kásim Beg, Báber's minister, who had a quarrel of blood with the Moghuls, not venturing to accompany him, left him and went to Hissár. Báber visits the Khan. A.H. 907, 10 Zilhájeh, A.D. 1502, June 16.

Just at this time Támbol led his army against the Khan, and had advanced as far as the Dale of Ahengeran, when a conspiracy was discovered in the heart of his camp, at the head of which were Muhammed Hissári and Kamber Ali. The conspirators escaped, and fled to the Khan. Támbol on this retired, and recrossed the river, but soon after entered the territory of Uratippa.

This invasion drew the Khan from his indolent repose. He assembled his troops, and after a grand re- A.H. 908, A.D. 1502.

* Báber's Mem. p. 101.

BOOK I. A.D. 1502.

view, led them up the Sirr.* It does not, however, appear that he entered Uratippa; and he soon returned home again. "This expedition of the Khan's," says Báber, "was rather an useless sort of an expedition. He took no fort, he beat no enemy; he went out and came in again." †

Such inactivity was little suited to the youthful ardour of Báber. His keen and ambitious mind preyed upon itself. To fill up the long intervals of leisure now afforded him, he devoted his mind to poetical pursuits, and he records with pride the time of his composing the first ghazel (or ode) that he ever wrote. ‡ But, though now, as at every future period of his life, he delighted to fill up with liberal and elegant studies the hours which he could steal from business, he had sat upon the thrones of Andeján and of Samarkand, and ambition was still his ruling passion. One of his thrones was now filled by a brother younger than himself, the other by his inveterate enemy. "While I remained at Táshkend at this time," says he, "I endured great vexation and misery. I possessed no government, nor had I hopes of acquiring any. Most of my servants had left me from absolute want; the few who still adhered to me were unable to accompany me on my journeys from sheer poverty. When I went to my uncle the Khan's diwán (levée), I was attended sometimes by one man, sometimes by two; but in one respect I was fortunate, that this did not happen among strangers, but with my own kinsmen. After having paid my compliments to the Khan, I was in the habit of going in to Shah Begum, his mother, bareheaded

* The particulars of this review are detailed with great spirit in Báber's Memoirs, and form a curious picture of the manners of the Moghuls. Mem. p. 103.

† Báber's Mem. p. 104.

‡ The commencement of this poem shows the state of the author's mind:—

"I have found no faithful friend in the world, but my soul;
Except my own heart, I have no trusty confidant."

and barefoot, with as much freedom as a man would use at home, in his own house. At length, however, I was worn out with this unsettled way of living, and with having no house or home, so that life itself became burdensome to me. I considered with myself, that it was better to take my way and retire into some corner where I might live unknown and undistinguished, than to continue to drag on existence in the wretchedness and misery which I then endured; that it were far better to flee away from the sight of man, as far as my feet could carry me, than to exhibit myself as a spectacle in such distress and abasement. I had thoughts of going to Khita *, a country which, from my infancy, I always had had a strong desire to visit, but had hitherto been prevented, from my being a king, and from my duty to my relations and connections. Now, however, my kingship was gone, my mother was safe with her mother and brother; in short, every obstacle to my journey was removed." † His only difficulty was how to get away from his relations. To effect this, he represented to the Khan, through his friend Khwája Abul Makárám, that the conquests of Sheibáni Khan in Transoxiana had added so much to that chieftain's power, that Túrks and Moghuls had equal grounds for apprehension; that it was necessary to watch his progress with jealousy, and arrest his course before he succeeded in reducing all his neighbours under his sway, when it would be too late to think of checking him; that it would be well if the Khan, and his younger brother, Sultan Ahmed, who ruled that part of the Moghul tribe which was in the desert, could come to an understanding, and act in concert; that, as the Khan had not seen his brother for four or five and twenty years, and Báber had never seen him at all, that prince might visit the younger Khan, and act as a channel of

* China. † Memoirs, pp. 104, 105.

BOOK I. A. D. 1502.

communication between the brothers. It was Báber's plan, had he been allowed to depart under these pretexts, to have visited Moghulistán and Terfán, after which the reins were in his own hands to turn whither he would. But this design he communicated to nobody; well knowing that his mother, Kutlak-Nigár-Khanum, would not endure the mention of it, and feeling it painful to impart such a plan to the few steady friends who had followed him in all his wanderings, with very different hopes. The Khan and his mother, Shah Begum, at first agreed to the proposed plan; but, as on reflection it occurred to them that he had asked leave to go in consequence of the poor reception that had been given him, some demur ensued; besides this, the Khan perhaps thought it probable that his brother might pay a visit to Táshkend, as the rapid success of Sheibáni had made the brothers desirous of acting in concert with all their force against the common enemy. And accordingly, at that very crisis, a messenger did arrive with information that the younger Khan was already on his march to meet his brother. This put an end to Báber's project. A second express soon followed, bringing intelligence that he was close at hand; on which Shah Begum, his mother, with the Khan's sisters and other relations, and among the rest Báber, set out to meet him.

Arrival of the younger Khan.

This family party had advanced as far as some small villages between Táshkend and Seirám, without exactly knowing when the younger Khan would arrive. "I had ridden out carelessly to see the country, when, all at once, I found myself face to face with him. I immediately alighted, and advanced to salute him. The moment I alighted, the Khan knew who I was, and was much disconcerted, for he had intended to alight somewhere, and, when duly seated, to receive and embrace me with great form and decorum; but I came too quick upon him, and dismounted so rapidly, that

there was no time for ceremony, as, the moment I sprang from my horse, I kneeled down and then embraced. He was a good deal agitated and disturbed, but at length ordered his two sons to alight, kneel, and embrace me." They then mounted, and all rode on to meet his mother, Shah Begum, and the Khanums, his sisters; and, after embracing them, "the party sat down, and continued talking about past occurrences and old stories till past midnight."* CHAP. III. A.D. 1502.

Next morning the younger Khan presented Báber with a dress of honour, and one of his own horses ready saddled. This dress Báber describes as consisting of a Moghul cap embroidered with gold thread; a long frock of China satin, ornamented with flowered needle-work; a cuirass of Chinese work, of the old fashion, with a whetstone and a purse-pocket: from one side of this purse-pocket hung three or four articles, such as a perfume-case and its bag, with other trinkets, such as Eastern ladies wear at their necks, while as many dangled on the other side. When Báber returned back tricked out and disguised in all this Moghul finery, he relates with much glee that even his intimate friend Khwája Abdal Makáram did not kown him, and asked what Moghul Sultan that was.

Meeting of the brothers.

About twelve or fifteen miles from Táshkend, the elder Khan, seated under an awning erected for the occasion, received his brother in all the pride of Moghul state. The ceremony, as described by Báber, is curious. The younger Khan advanced right towards his brother, and, on coming near him in front, turned to the left of the elder Khan, fetching a complete circle round him, till he was again in front, when he alighted; and, on coming to the distance at which *Cornish* is performed, he knelt nine times, and then went up and embraced him; the elder Khan, as his brother came

* Memoirs, pp. 105, 106.

BOOK I.

A.D. 1502.

near, standing up and embracing him in turn; they stood a long time clasping each other in their arms. The younger Khan, while retiring, again knelt nine times; and, when he presented his tributory offerings, again knelt many times; after which he went and sat down. All the younger Khan's men were dressed in the Moghul fashion,—in rich clothes such as had been presented to Báber, with their horses caparisoned and bedizened in singular style.

The Khans march to Akhsi.

The younger Khan brought with him only about fifteen hundred men; but the brothers soon took their resolution to attack Sultan Ahmed Támbol in Andeján. As there was some danger that Sheibáni might move to the assistance of Támbol, or at least try to make a diversion by an inroad into Táshkend, Sultan Mahmúd's eldest son was left with a strong force to guard Táshkend, and a reinforcement was sent to Muhammed Husein Mírza at Uratippa, for the purpose of impeding Sheibáni's advance in that direction. The army under the Khans amounted to thirty thousand men, and crossed the chain of hills that bounds Akhsi on the west. To create a diversion, Báber was sent with a detachment of Moghuls to cross the great river, and, proceeding towards Ush and Urkend, to take in the rear Támbol, who was said to have collected his forces in Akhsi ready to face the Khans. Báber does not mention with what professed intention, so far as concerned himself, the Khans entered his country. From what followed, it seems to be probable that they intended to seize it for themselves, and wished to use Báber only as an instrument for forwarding their own purposes. We find nothing like conscience or honour among the chiefs on the Sirr or the Amu, in this age. Ambition sanctioned every degree of treachery and deceit, even towards their nearest relations. Báber, with his detachment, marching to the north of Akhsi, crossed the Sirr on rafts, and by a rapid march, sur-

Báber takes Ush.

prised and took Ush; on which, all the tribes who occupied the hills and plains to the east and south of Andéjan gladly declared for him. Urkend, a place of great strength, lying on the Káshghar frontier, and formerly the capital of Ferghána, also tendered its allegiance. The people of Marghinán, in like manner, expelled Támbol's garrison and joined Báber; so that, in a short time, the whole kingdom south of the Sirr, Andeján only excepted, acknowledged his authority. Támbol, meanwhile, undismayed, lay with his army near Akhsi, facing the Khans, in a strongly fortified position. Daily skirmishes ensued, with little advantage on either side.

CHAP. III.

A.D. 1502.

Támbol covers Akhsi.

Báber advances to Andeján.

Báber, thus master of one portion of the south side of the river, understanding that the men of Andeján also were anxious for an opportunity to join him, advanced towards the place by night; wishing to introduce into the town some person who might confer with his friends, and concert with them a plan for surprising the place. This plan failed from one of those accidents to which night attacks are so subject. In consequence of a mistake of his Moghul auxiliaries as to the watchword,—a military practice to which they were not accustomed,—two parties of his troops, in the darkness of the night, engaged each other as enemies, and the whole were compelled to retreat. Báber, learning soon after, however, that Támbol's troops at Akhsi were disheartened, and beginning to desert from his camp, ventured to march openly from Ush upon Andeján. He was met at some distance from the suburbs by a brother of Támbol's, whose troops he charged without hesitation, driving them back into the fort. Báber, with his habitual ardour, was keen for making a push to enter the gates along with them, convinced that such an attack would certainly succeed; but the greater caution of the older leaders decided that it was too late in the day for hazarding such an attempt; at the same time holding it certain that the place must fall next

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A.D. 1502.

morning, without loss to the army. The troops were accordingly drawn off, to encamp at some little distance.

Is surprised by Támbol.

The Sultan, with that frankness and magnanimity which distinguish his character, acknowledges that, after retiring from the town, his conduct was most incautious. News had already reached him that Támbol, obliged to abandon his ground near Akhsi, was in full retreat on Andeján; yet, instead of occupying the strong ground along the banks of the Jákán, he crossed that river, and encamped on a level plain, near a village on the other side, and went to sleep, in negligent security, without outpost or vidette. Just before dawn, an alarm was given that the enemy was upon them. Báber, springing from sleep, rushed out with about ten of his best men, who were at hand to check their progress. He drove back the party whom he first met; but soon after fell in with the main body under Támbol himself, whom he did not hesitate to attack with his arrows. In an instant, however, he was himself wounded by an arrow which pierced his right thigh, while Támbol, riding up, discharged full on his head a furious sabre-blow, which stunned him. The blow was inflicted by the very sword which Báber had so lately presented to him. Though the steel cap which he had on was not cut through, his head was severely bruised. In wheeling round he received another sabre-stroke, the force of which was luckily broken by falling on his quiver. The enemy were now fast gathering about him, and only three of his followers were near him, so that he had nothing left for it but to try to extricate himself by a hasty retreat. He plunged into a deep stream which he met with in his flight, and was fortunate enough to hit upon one of the few places where it was fordable; and, falling in with two or three of his men who joined him, by taking bye-roads he succeeded in reaching Ush. Many brave officers and men fell that day.*

* Báber's Mem. pp. 110, 111.

Támbol was not able to avail himself of all the advantages which this success seemed to offer, as the Khans had followed close after him when he broke up from his camp at Akhsi, and now advanced to Andeján. Two days afterwards Báber joined them from Ush, and waited upon the elder Khan. On this occasion the Khan communicated his intention to give up to his younger brother, Sultan Ahmed Khan, the whole of Ferghána south of the river, comprising all the tract of country recovered by Báber, with Andeján when conquered; under pretence that it was necessary that the younger Khan, as he came from a distance, should possess some convenient station for himself and his troops, near enough at hand to enable him to act against Sheibáni Khan, to check whose growing power was now the grand object. Báber was, in the meanwhile, to have Akhsi; and, when matters were settled in Ferghána, both he and the Khans were to march in conjunction against Samarkand; in the event of that city's being recovered, the younger Khan was to get Akhsi also, while Samarkand was to be given up to Báber. All this was not very agreeable to the young Sultan, but he saw no remedy, and was obliged to submit. On leaving the elder Khan, he went to visit his younger uncle; who, being on this occasion better prepared than when they first met so unexpectedly, came out ceremoniously beyond the range of the tent ropes to welcome him; and, as Báber walked with difficulty and leaning on a staff, in consequence of the wound in his thigh, his uncle took him by the arm, and led him into the tent, telling him that he had behaved like a hero. As the younger Khan had passed all his life in the remoter deserts of Tartary, his manners were rude and his accommodations but indifferent. "The small tent in which he sat," says his nephew, "certainly was not distinguished for its neatness; it had much the air of a marauder's; grapes, horse-furniture, and melons were lying huddled about

CHAP. III.

A. D. 1502.

Joins the Khans;

proposed arrangement.

BOOK I.

A.D. 1502.

in it, here and there, in rare confusion." He insisted on Báber's taking the aid of his surgeon to manage his wound, and the serjeant-surgeon, from the report of his patient, appears to have been a quack worthy of his tribe.

To assist in carrying into effect the arrangements which it had pleased the Khans to make, Báber was sent to the north of the river with a body of one or two thousand Moghuls, to reduce Akhsi and Kásan, the provinces that had been allotted to him, while the Khans employed themselves in the siege of Andeján. He soon got possession of Noukend, a castle on the road to Kásan; and of Páp, a very strong fort in the Akhsi territory.

Támbol attempts to gain Báber,

The success of the Khans and of Báber had reduced Sultan Ahmed Támbol and his party to great distress. Támbol saw no hopes of retrieving his affairs, but by detaching Báber from his uncles; but he believed that, if that could be effected, it would be impossible for the Khans to keep their ground in the country. Sheikh Bayezíd, Támbol's younger brother, and governor of Akhsi, communicated on the subject with Báber, and invited him into the city. Báber, who did not wish to separate himself from his uncles, informed them of the proposal; they advised him to pretend to enter into the plan, to accept the invitation, and afterwards to seize Sheikh Bayezíd.

who is received into Akhsi.

Báber was not fond of this mode of proceeding, as it implied a breach of faith. He was, however, eager to get into Akhsi, and to have the co-operation of Bayezíd; hoping perhaps that in due time he might detach him from his brother's interest, or even use him to strengthen his party against the Khans. An agreement was accordingly entered into, the terms of which Báber does not mention; and he was in consequence received into the town, Sheíkh Bayezíd coming out with Násir Mírza, Báber's youngest brother, to receive and do him

honour.* He took up his quarters in his father's palace in the outer fort.

CHAP. III.

A.D. 1502.

Támbol calls in Sheibáni.

But matters were drawing to a crisis in Ferghána. The two Khans in conjunction pushed on the siege of Andeján. Támbol, sensible of his weakness, and that his ruin was at hand unless he provided an immediate remedy, sent to Sheibáni Khan at Samarkand to solicit his aid against the Moghul chiefs, and offering to hold Ferghána under him as his sovereign. Sheibáni, to whom no proposal could be more agreeable, readily accepted the offer, and promised to march without delay to expel the invaders. No sooner did the Khans hear that he was on his march, than they abandoned the siege of Andeján; and, retreating by Marghinán, repassed the river at Khojend. The moment their retreat began, the inhabitants of Ush, Marghinán, and of the rest of the towns,—who had voluntarily submitted to Báber, but who had been miserably oppressed and plundered by the Moghul garrisons which had been placed among them,—rose upon their oppressors, drove them out of their towns and forts, and stript them of their booty. Indeed, the helpless inhabitants, in these unhappy times, invariably suffered from every change, whoever were their masters.

Retreat of Khans.

Báber was now perplexed. Though he had little confidence in the attachment of the Khans, he did not wish lightly to desert them, especially as he had as little to hope for from their opponents as from them. They were become, however, the weaker party; and, it was clear, could give him no effectual aid, even were they disposed. To add to his embarrassment, his brother Jehángír,—the nominal sovereign of Ferghána, under Támbol,—made his appearance, early one morning, having escaped from Támbol's camp at Marghinán.

Proceedings at Akhs.

* It would seem that Násir Mírza, as well as his brother Jehángír, was used to strengthen the party against Báber.

BOOK I. A.D. 1502.

Even Sheikh Bayezíd himself was now at a loss how to act. Affairs had become complicated. Some of Báber's Begs advised him to seize Bayezíd, to occupy the citadel of Akhsi, and trust to his own strength and good fortune. Báber objected to this proceeding, as contrary to good faith; and, before they could come to any resolution, Bayezíd moved into the citadel, which he occupied, and which was thus lost. During the general confusion, Báber neglected to place a guard on the bridge that led into that fortress; and, before the sun was up next morning, Támbol, who had hastened from Andeján, arrived, attended by two or three thousand cavalry in complete armour; passed the bridge and entered the citadel without opposition.

Bayezíd seized.

Báber had not at this moment many more than a hundred of his followers with him, all the rest having been sent out on various missions, to collect the revenues, to take charge of districts, or to garrison forts. He was himself in the town, which was open towards the citadel. Defence might justly have seemed hopeless; yet Báber, whose temper led him never to despond, was busy posting his few troops at the extremity of the different streets, and in procuring supplies of military stores for their use, when Bayezíd and Kamber Ali came galloping out of the citadel, to propose terms of pacification on the part of Támbol. Báber conducted the envoys to his father's tomb, which was near at hand, and sat down with them in the portico, that they might confer together. He sent to call his brother Jehángír, to join them. That prince accordingly came, along with Ibráhím Chápuk; but they, after consulting together, had come to the resolution of making Bayezíd prisoner. Jehángír whispered their intentions to Báber. Things were so much changed since that plan was first proposed, the enemy being now in possession of the citadel, and having a powerful force there, while Báber's scanty numbers had not a wall to defend

them, that he at once perceived that more was to be hoped for from negotiation than from force; and therefore told his brother that the time for that was gone by. Jehángír, upon this, made a sign to Ibrahim to desist; but he, either really misunderstanding the sign, or only pretending to do so, laid hold of Bayezíd, who was immediately surrounded and rudely dragged away by their rough retainers. There was now an end of all treaty. It only remained to take to horse and prepare for action. CHAP. III. A. D. 1502.

On observing this act of treachery, the soldiers in the citadel immediately attacked the town. They were far superior in numbers. The feeble force which Báber possessed, in spite of a gallant resistance, were driven from street to street. The combat was hopeless from the first. After brave but fruitless exertions, Báber's followers began to think of saving themselves by getting out of the place. They made a push for one of the gates, and forced their way through. Bayezíd had fortunately escaped in the confusion which followed the attack. When out of the town, Báber imprudently halted to wait for his brother and the stragglers. The force opposed to them by the enemy was overpowering. Only twenty or thirty men were left with the young Sultan. Convinced at last that all was over, he set off in full flight, without his brother; and had hardly crossed the bridge, when a large body of the enemy appeared at the other end, and followed them in keen pursuit. Man after man was overtaken and unhorsed; they had hardly ridden three miles, as far as the village of Sang, when their party was reduced to eight men in all. After passing that village they saw no more of their immediate pursuers. They rode up the banks of the river Sang for a long time, by a bye-path, among winding glens, remote from the high-road; and, then, leaving it before sunset, emerged from the broken country into an open plain. Here they saw something which they suspected

Báber driven from Akhsi.

His flight.

BOOK I. A.D. 1502.

might be a party of men at a distance. Báber placed his companions under cover, and ascended a rising ground, in order to discern with greater certainty what it might be; when suddenly a number of horsemen were seen galloping up the hill behind them. Not knowing how many they were, they all again took to flight. The horsemen pursued. Again they were overtaken, one after another, and unhorsed; till at last, of the seven who had been left with the young prince, Mírza Kuli Gokaltásh alone remained, and the pursuit was still continued. "Our horses were too tired to admit of being put to the gallop," says Báber; "we went on at a canter; but the horse of Mírza Kuli began to move slower and slower. I said to him, 'If deprived of you, whither can I go? Come then, and be it death or life, let us meet it together.' I kept on turning from time to time, to look for Mírza Kuli. At last he said, 'My horse is completely blown; and it is impossible for you to escape, if you encumber yourself with me. Push on, and shift for yourself. Perhaps you may still escape.' My situation was singularly distressing. Mírza Kuli also fell behind, and I was left alone."*

At this alarming moment, two of the enemy, Baba Seirámi and Bandeh Ali, were gaining upon Báber, whose horse began to flag. There was a tract of rocky ground near at hand, and a steep hill about two miles off. He had only twenty arrows left in his quiver. He was divided between dismounting at the first, and there defending himself as long as his arrows lasted; or, of pushing on for the second, where he thought he might place a few arrows in his girdle, climb up the hill, and set his enemies at defiance. As he had great confidence in his own nimbleness and speed, this last seemed his best chance of final escape; and he spurred on his weary horse. It was too fatigued, however, to exert its speed;

* Báber's Mem. pp. 117, 118.

and his pursuers got within bowshot of him. He was unwilling to shoot any of his arrows, on which his safety might finally depend. The pursuers, on their part, seemed unwilling to engage in close combat, or to come nearer, but kept tracking him.

It was about sunset when he got near the hill. His pursuers then called out, and asked him, whither he meant to go, informing him that both his brothers were prisoners. This intelligence added to Báber's danger and alarm; for he well saw that if the enemy once had all the three brothers in their power, every restraint was taken away from them. He said nothing, but kept on his course. After some time they again addressed him in a humbler style, dismounting and leading their horses; but he still went on, and entered a glen, up which they continued to follow him. He came to a steep ledge of rock, and tried to mount it, but his horse lost its footing. Again they addressed him in a mild tone of expostulation; asking him, what end it could serve, in so dark a night (for the night had now fallen dark around them), to go on in a line were there was no pathway. They asserted, and confirmed their assertion with an oath, that it was Támbol's wish to place him on the throne. He replied that he had no confidence in Támbol; but that, if they really wished to serve him, they might do so by showing him some road by which he could join the Khans; if not, he entreated that they would go, and leave him to his fate. They replied that they could not think of leaving him in so desolate a situation; that they heartily wished that they had never come, and were ready to serve him and follow him, go where he would. He bid them swear by the Koran that they were sincere; and they swore.*

After this oath he began to show them some confidence, though his trust was far from being entire.

* Báber's Mem. p. 119.

BOOK I. A.D. 1502.

He made them go before him, to point out the way. They misled him, however; and about midnight pretended that, in the darkness, they had passed the road which he had wished to take; but offered to conduct him to the village of Ghiva, whence he could easily reach the Khan's dominions. About three in the morning they came to the Karnán river, when one of them went on to reconnoitre, and returned to report that there were a number of men passing along the road, so that it was not safe to venture on it. Báber was in the midst of enemies, and morning was coming on. He proposed to his companions that they should all conceal themselves in the hill, during the coming day, and, when night arrived, get something to refresh their horses, and then cross the Sirr, and make for Khojend. Bandeh Ali, who was Darogha (or chief magistrate) of Karnán, offered to go to that town, which was not far off, to procure some food for themselves, and provender for their horses, and get it conveyed to them. This was agreed to, and they all took the road of Karnán, and halted about a mile or two from the place, while the Darogha went in. He did not return till after the sun was risen, when he brought out three loaves for the party, but nothing for their horses. They went off to a hillock hard by, to eat their bread, tying the horses lower down in marshy ground, out of sight, and kept watch on different sides of the hill. They first saw a party of five, one of whom they knew, pass by, going to Akhsi. Báber did not venture to speak to them, knowing them to be indisposed to him; but, as they were likely to halt for the night at Karnán, he laid a plan for carrying off their horses. They next saw a single horseman riding over the plain, but did not think it safe to accost him. It was, as he afterwards discovered, a fugitive from the rout, one of Báber's Begs, lurking like himself. As their horses had had nothing to eat for two days and a night, it was necessary to go down

to the plain to let them graze. About afternoon prayers, when they had gone down, they observed a horseman riding over the very height they had left. Báber recognised him for the Kilanter (or Head-man) of Ghiva, went up to him, and addressed him with kindness, tried to gain his good will, and in the end despatched him to bring provender for their horses, some food for themselves, and the tackle used in passing rivers. They engaged him to meet them on the same spot, at bedtime prayers.

Evening prayers were past, when they descried a horseman going from Karnán to Ghiva. They hailed him and he answered them. It was the very same horseman they had seen before; but, though he was a Beg who had been five years in Báber's service, and was well known to him, so successfully did he change his voice for the purpose of concealment, that Báber did not recognise him. On the contrary, he was so uneasy from this man's passing and repassing them in this suspicious way, that he was afraid to adhere to his assignation with the Kilanter. It was settled, therefore, that they should go to some retired garden-house near Karnán, and there get a person who might repair to the appointed place of meeting, and bring the Kilanter. To Karnán they all accordingly went; and, on their arrival there, as it was winter, they brought the Sultan a cloak made of year-old lambskin, with the wool inside and coarse woven cloth without, such as is used for warmth in that country. They also procured for him a homely mess of pottage of boiled millet flour, which he eat with much relish. On his inquiring if they had sent anybody to meet the Kilanter on the hill, they assured him that they had; but the truth was that they were playing false, and had not only met him already, but had despatched him on to Támbol, to let him know where the Sultan was to be found. At the same time, pretending great care for Báber's safety,

BOOK I.

A.D. 1502.

they waked him after a fire had been kindled, and, when he had enjoyed but a few moments' rest, made him get up, mount his horse, and ride to another house in the suburbs, which they represented as safer, from being more out of the town.

While the Sultan lay down to rest in his new quarters, Baba Seirámi, one of his late pursuers, went to the terrace roof of the house, to keep a look-out. A little before noon, he came down and reported that he saw one Yúsef, a Darogha, coming towards them. As this man was well known to be a magistrate in the service of Támbol, Báber desired Baba to go out and ascertain if he had come in consequence of hearing that the Sultan was there. On his return Baba reported that Yúsef had met a man at the gate of Ahksi, from whom he had learnt that the Sultan was there; that he had put the man in close custody to prevent his abusing his knowledge, and had hastened to the spot to meet his sovereign. Báber, who began to fear that he had all along been deceived, asked Baba earnestly what was his real opinion of the matter. He answered that they were all his servants, and that there was nothing left for it but to join Támbol and his party, who would certainly make him king. While they were yet conversing, Yúsef entered, and throwing himself on his knees, exclaimed, "Why should I conceal anything from you?" Sultan Ahmed Támbol knows nothing of the matter; but Sheikh Bayezíd has got information where you are, and has sent me hither." On hearing this, Báber gave up everything for lost, and entreated Yúsef, if all was indeed over, to inform him honestly, that he might, while there was yet time, perform his last ablutions, before prostrating himself in prayer, and thus prepare for his fate, like a brave man and a true believer. Yúsef swore again and again that he was sincere, but Báber did not believe him, and retired into the garden to spend the few moments yet left

him, in religious meditation, and in preparations for another world.*

CHAP. III.

A.D. 1502–3.

A chasm in Báber's own memoirs, at this interesting period of his life, prevents our knowing in what manner he was extricated from the painful situation in which he was placed. He did however escape, and succeeded in joining the Khans.

Advance of Sheibáni, A. H. 908, A. D. 1502,

When the two Moghul Khans marched from Táshkend for Ferghána, Sultan Mahmúd had left his eldest son, Sultan Muhammed Sultan, with a large army to defend that country, should any attempt be made upon it by Sheibáni during their absence: while Muhammed Husein Korkan, Doghlat, to whom another body of troops was assigned, had orders to keep Sheibáni in check, should he advance by Uratippa. The Khans had imagined that these two armies were sufficient to cover their operations against Andeján, and that it would be impossible for any force to pass them both. But Sheibáni, whose interpretation of the term impossible was not the same as theirs, regarded the whole arrangement as being in his favour, since it allowed him, by a little management and activity, to make his way between the two covering armies, and to come upon the Khans, while they had with them only a third part of their troops. Setting out from Samarkand, therefore, he advanced towards Ferghána by rapid marches, taking Uratippa on his route. Muhammed Husein imagined that the Uzbek had come to lay siege to his fort, and busied himself in putting every thing into the most perfect state of defence. In the afternoon of the day of his arrival, Sheibáni encamped near the town, as if ready to begin his operations against it, with the morning. But, no sooner had the sun set, and darkness covered his movements, than he silently decamped, and marched away with all possible speed. When the

to Uratippa.

* Báber's Mem. pp. 120—122.

BOOK I. A.D. 1503.

morning light returned, and it was ascertained that he was gone, and that his march was directed towards Andeján, express was despatched after express to give the Khans notice of his approach.

to Andeján;

The expresses and Sheibáni reached the army of the Khans nearly at the same time; and the armies neither of Táshkend nor of Uratippa had time to march to their succour. The Khans had still with them about 15,000 men; and, after their hurried retreat, on the first alarm, across the river at Khojend, into the Akhsi territory, were joined by Báber, who had escaped without followers. They now believed themselves for a time at least, to be in perfect safety; when of a sudden, the indefatigable Sheibáni, with 30,000 horse, burst in upon the camp. The Moghuls, taken by surprise, had hardly time to mount and draw up. Being in confusion, and borne down by superior numbers, resistance was unavailing, and the defeat complete. The horses of the Khans being worn out in the flight, they were both made prisoners. Báber effected his escape, and made his way to the southern hills of Ferghána.*

defeats the Moghuls.

and takes the Khans.

Sheibáni, after his decisive battle, lost no time in improving his victory. Bayezíd waited upon him from Akhsi, and both he and his brother Támbol expressed the deepest gratitude for his aid, and the most devoted attachment to his interests. The Uzbek, on his part, seemed quite satisfied with their professions, did not waste time by going back to Andeján, but, leaving them to complete the reduction and settlement of the rest of the country, moved down the Sirr, towards the dominions of the elder Khan.

Conquers Táshkend,

He met with no opposition. Consternation and dismay had marched before him. As soon as the news of the defeat of the Khans, and that they were both prisoners in the hands of Sheibáni, reached Táshkend,

* The disaster of Táshkend was in Cancer, A.H. 908 (June, 1503). See Tar. Resh. f. 117.

Sultan Muhammed Sultan fled with his family, children, and the Moghul Ulús, into the deserts of Moghulistán. Muhammed Husein, of Uratippa, regarding any opposition as unavailing, and likely to be fatal, abandoned that place; and, unable to make his way across the Seihun, fled to the mountainous region of Karatigín, with his followers and whatever he had time to carry away. Sheibáni meanwhile marched downwards by Shahrokhía, Táshkend, and Uratippa, occupying the country and the towns as he went along. He had formerly been ambitious of an alliance by marriage with the family of the Khans, but his wish had not been gratified. He now enlarged his demand to three intermarriages; and he himself, his son Taímur Beg, and his nephew Jáni Beg, married each a princess of the family. Sheibáni behaved to the Khans with great courtesy; and, after the conquest of Táshkend, set them at liberty, in consideration of the patronage he had himself received from the elder Khan; but he detained as many of the Moghuls as he could, and no fewer than 30,000 of them were added to the Uzbek army. He seems to have borne a particular grudge to Báber's old friend Khwája Abul-Mokáram. Immediately after the battle he despatched a messenger to Táshkend to announce that the two Khans were in his hands, and that Báber had fled the country; and to add, that, if the inhabitants had any wish to save the captive princes, they must prevent the Khwája's escape, and detain him in custody. He was accordingly thrown into prison, but in a short time after effected his escape. To prevent his being recognised, he submitted to the mortification of cutting off his beard. Unable, from his age and infirmities, to reach any place of safety, he was compelled to take refuge with a man who lived in a village near Táshkend. This person concealed him for a day or two, but afterwards gave him up, when the Khwája was carried before Sheibáni, who on seeing him in-

CHAP. III.

A.D. 1503.

releases the Khans.

BOOK I. A.D. 1503.

quired, "What have you done with your beard?" The Khwája answered by quoting two Persian verses, "He who puffs at the lamp which God has lighted, singes his beard;" but the felicity of the allusion did not avail him, and he was put to death. Sheibáni, having placed Uzbek garrisons in the chief towns, returned straight to Samarkand; while the two Khans, seeing their power broken and their army destroyed or transferred into the ranks of their enemy, retired into Moghulistán.*

Sheibáni invades Hissár.

Sheibáni's stay at Samarkand was short. His ambition had been fired by success, and he now aimed at the conquest of Khorásán itself. But he saw, that, before venturing on such an attempt, it was necessary, in order to prevent any attack on his flank or from behind, to reduce not only Ferghána, but Hissár, Balkh, and other countries north of the Parapamisan range. Khosrou Shah, who now ruled Hissár, Kunduz, and other extensive territories on both sides of the Amu, fully anticipated such an attack, and used every exertion to be prepared for it. When Muhammed Husein Doghlat fled from Uratippa to Karatigín, Khosrou invited him to his court, and questioned him earnestly as to the power of Sheibáni, the composition of his army, and his military tactics. Khosrou did not expect an attack that year, but thought it likely that he might be invaded the year after. Early in the winter, however †, Sheibáni, who never slumbered over his projects, led an army into Hissár. His purpose was not to seize Khosrou or to conquer his territories, but merely to try by experience the extent of that prince's power, and the temper of his military force. He ravaged Khosrou's country, meeting with little resistance; and then marched down to Balkh, which was held for Badi-ez-zemán Mírza,

* Tar. Resh. ff. 113—119.; Rozet-es-Sefa, vol. vii.

† This expedition seems to have taken place in the winter of A.H. 909, probably in October or November, A.D. 1503. Tar. Resh. ff. 117, 118. Balkh continued to be besieged during the winter.

the eldest son of the Sultan of Herát. Here too he met with little to oppose him, and laid siege to the capital. Having thus gained experimental proof of the nature and extent of what he had to fear from the rulers of Hissár and Khorásán, he resolved, before going farther, to march back, and remove whatever might occasion him danger or annoyance from behind. He, therefore, returned to Samarkand, and soon set out once more with a strong army for Andeján.

Sheibáni invades Andeján. Spring of A.H. 909, end of A.D. 1504.

The pretext for this invasion does not appear: but Sheibáni wished to possess Andeján, and was never at a loss for a pretext. Sultan Ahmed Támbol, ever since the battle of Akhsi, had been busily employed in reducing the hill-tribes of Andeján; and was in the country of the Jageráks, in the south east of Ferghána, when he heard that Sheibáni had entered his territory. Without losing a moment, he hurried back to his capital, resolved to defend it to the last. For that purpose he called in all his garrisons, as well as the troops that were scattered in stations over the country. These proceedings Sheibáni saw with delight. His plan had been to lay siege in person to Andeján; to send out detachments in every direction to seize the castles, ravage the country, carry off the inhabitants and reduce it to a desert, and then to retire; he proposed next year again to spread his troops over the country in the same way, to carry off or destroy the crops, to ruin whatever had escaped the year before, and complete the devastation. These measures, the plan of operations adopted by Támbol unexpectedly shortened. Sheibáni saw the possibility of deciding the contest at one blow. As his troops approached Andeján, Támbol, who had concentrated his whole force, marched out with a considerable body of men to harass the advance; but discovering that, not the advance only, but the whole hostile army, was close upon him, he retired with precipitation; and his active enemy, following close behind, cut a number of his

BOOK II. A.D. 1504.

Besieges Tambol,

troops to pieces, before they could re-enter the town. Sheibáni, thereupon, resolved to block up the army of Támbol thus collected at one point, and dispirited by the loss they had recently sustained; and at once to push on the siege vigorously to a conclusion.

The siege had lasted only forty days, when Támbol found that all his means of defence had failed. It would appear, that, trusting to his being able to keep the field with at least some part of his army, he had not made sufficient provision for the supply of the whole within the walls. He therefore began to think seriously of capitulating; and discovered, by accident, a mediator in the enemy's camp. Muhammed Husein Doghlat of Uratippa, whom Khosrou in the course of that winter had expelled from Karatigín, having, with a part of his followers, effected his escape over the snowy mountains of that country, had descended into the highlands of the Jageraks, with which tribe he had united in repelling the late attack of Támbol. He had subsequently repaired to Sheibáni's camp, under a promise of immunity. There he had been most hospitably entertained and feasted, by Sheibáni and the Uzbek chiefs. On the morning of the forty-first day of the siege, Támbol, finding himself reduced to extremity, and perceiving Muhammed Husein in the enemy's trenches, called out to him from the top of a lofty turret, "My Mírza, do not forget me, and think of the times when we sucked milk from the same breast. Tell me what I should do, and I will do it." Támbol had been his foster-brother, and Muhammed was much affected. He asked Támbol, why he stood out, if he had no hopes of success; and intimated that the only step left was to surrender at discretion. Taimur Sultan, Sheibáni's son, was standing by at the time. In a word, Támbol, compelled by necessity, at length came out, accompanied by his brothers. Conscious of his danger and filled with alarm, he threw his arms round his fosterbrother's neck. The Uzbeks

who surrenders and is put to death.

hesitated not a moment, but unrelentingly put them all to the sword on the spot. The gates of the town were, at the same time, closed; and not the slightest plunder or excess was permitted within the walls. Andeján was bestowed on Jani Beg Sultan, Sheibáni's cousin; and Sheibáni soon after retraced his steps to Samarkand, where he made every preparation for returning to subdue those countries on the Amu which last year he had only visited.* CHAP. III. A.D. 1504.

Báber a fugitive in Andeján.

During all these transactions, and ever since the battle in which the Khans had been taken prisoners, Báber had been compelled to wander as a fugitive and an outlaw in the hill-country on the south of Andeján; and especially among the mountain recesses of Sukh and Hushiár, districts of the province of Asfera. In all his wanderings he was accompanied by his mother, by some individuals of his family and household, and by a few faithful followers, who adhered to him in the midst of all his misfortunes. After he had been subjected for nearly a year to the utmost extremes of hardship and suffering; hunted from village to village, and from forest to mountain; finding the toils of his pursuers closing around him; that his partisans in the low country were totally dispersed, and that not a chance of success was left; he held a consultation with his small but devoted band. There was little room for diversity of opinion. Their prospects were dreary and dark. The kingdoms of Samarkand and Bokhára, which had so long been held by his family, and the former of which he had himself twice occupied for a brief space, were now in the firm grasp of an Uzbek barbarian; the territories of his uncle, the elder Khan, had shared the same fate; and his own little kingdom of Ferghána, a kingdom which, if we examine his history critically, he cannot be said ever to have fully enjoyed, had in like manner

* Tar. Resh. ff. 118. 121.; Báber, p. 168.

BOOK I. A.D. 1504.

been added to the overgrown dominions of his rival. Opposition was hopeless; and he could not expect long to secure even his life, if he continued to roam as an adventurer in a territory which he had once vainly called his own. Young and brave as he was, the world was before him; and he resolved, abandoning for a time his native country, to court in foreign lands that success which fortune denied him at home. The territory and court of Khorásán naturally presented themselves to his imagination. That kingdom was governed by Sultan Husein Mírza, a monarch of great power and reputation, and beyond comparison the most distinguished prince then living of the family of Taimur. Accordingly, in the summer of A.H. 910, Báber bade a last adieu to the land of his nativity, and the whole party set out to cross the lofty and snow-covered range of mountains that separate Andeján from Karatigín and Hissár.*

Sets out for Khorásán.

Moharrem, A.H. 910, June, A.D. 1504.

While bringing to a close this first period of Báber's eventful life, it may be proper to advert briefly to the fate of his uncles the two Khans. After they were released by Sheibáni Khan, both the brothers retired into the desert. The younger Khan, Ahmed or Ilachi, retired to his own dominions in the east of Moghulistán, where he spent a few months. His previous life had been a fortunate one; and his late disaster preyed upon his mind, and affected his health. He never regained his spirits, and died in the end of the following winter.† Haider Mírza relates, that, he had heard from Khwája Taj-ed-din Muhammed, a saintly man, whose family were the hereditary Sheikh-ul-Islams of that country, that, when the Khan was suffering much from dysentery, he had observed to him—that it was reported that Sheibáni had caused noxious herbs to be mixed with his food; and that, if such was his highness's wish, he

Death of the younger Khan,

* Báber's Mem. p. 127.; Tar. Resh. f. 125.

† End of winter of A.H. 909 probably March, 1504.

would procure the precious teriák, or antidote against poison, brought from Khita, and would administer it. The Khan replied with a sigh; "Yes, Shahi Beg Khan has indeed poisoned me; and I will tell you how. From a low degree of abasement he has raised himself to such a pitch of elevation, that he has been able to make us two brothers prisoners, and set us at large again. From this disgrace originates the disease that has preyed upon my frame. If you know any antidote for a malady of that nature, it may be useful."* CHAP. III.

The death of Sultan Ahmed Khan was, as usual, followed by civil dissensions in Moghulistán. When that prince had set out from Aksu to assist his brother on the Seihun, he caused his eldest son Mansúr Khan to be installed as Khan of the Moghuls; and now, on his father's death, Mansúr continued to hold that high station. His uncle, Sultan Mahmúd, however, who was at the time in Moghulistán, secured the chief power among the tribes in the western range of the desert; while Mansúr exercised his authority at Aksu, and in the whole territory to the east, as far as Chálís and Terfán. But Mahmúd's reign in the western desert was not undisturbed. Dissensions and civil wars soon broke out. His nephews Saíd Khan and Khalíl Khan, the younger brothers of Mansúr, carried on against him a harassing warfare, in which defeats were in turn suffered on both sides, and the success was various. But the ardour and activity of his youthful competitors, who naturally drew into their ranks the more adventurous spirits of the tribes, in the end secured the ascendancy. Sultan Mahmúd, who was naturally indolent, had also much of his father Yúnis Khan's preference for fertile and populous countries; and, disgusted with the hardships and sufferings to which he was exposed,

* Tar. Resh. ff. 113—119.; Rozet-es-Sefa, vol. vii., MS. — Briggs's Ferishta, vol. ii. p. 22. Ferishta erroneously relates the anecdote as of the elder Khan.

BOOK I. declared, that the most wretched situation in Táshkend was better than the sovereignty of Aksu. He retired to Betikend in Moghulistán, where there was some cultivation. After lingering about five years in the country, which was then a prey to civil discord, finding himself hard pushed, he finally resolved to throw himself on the protection of Sheibáni. That chief was at Herát when the Khan returned towards his old dominions. The Uzbek was not of a character to expose himself to any risk, by harbouring a prince of high birth and pretensions, and whose restless disposition might cause him future trouble "I have shown him favour once already," said he; "to continue to lavish it, would be pernicious to my country." The Khan was accordingly seized at Khojend and put to death with five of his sons. The eldest, Sultan Muhammed Sultan, who had used every effort to prevent his father from putting himself in Sheibáni's power, did not accompany him, but remained in Moghulistán, and afterwards repaired to Berendúk Khan, and Kásim Khan, the chiefs of the Kaizák Uzbeks. The succession of Khans of the Moghuls was carried on for many years afterwards, in the family of the younger Khan, Sultan Ahmed.*

and of his brother.

A.H 914, A.D 1508.

* Tar. Resh. ff. 84—116. 131. The history of the Khans of the Moghuls, and of the Amírs of Káshghar, subsequent to Taimur Toghlak Khan, is detailed at great length in the Taríkhi Reshídi of Haider Mirza; and indeed forms the proper subject of the two first books of that work. These details are the more valuable as the succession of the Moghul Khans and of the Amírs of Káshghar, from that period, is not contained in any other work with which I am acquainted; and the learned Deguignes, as has been already observed, omits the subject from want of materials; observing, that, even the names of the princes of Kashghar, subsequent to Taimur, were unknown. Hist. des Huns, tom. iv. p. 337. The Tarikhi Reshídi well deserves to be published in the original, or translated. It is the production of a learned and accomplished man; and, in the two latter parts, of a contemporary, intimately acquainted with the men and events that he describes. Central Asia was then in a transition-state, which ended in the settlement of the Uzbeks in Transoxiana, of the Kirghíz confederacy in Moghulistan, and of the Chaghatái Túrks in India. The minute details which the author gives of his own sufferings, and of the sufferings of his

nearest relations, during the period that followed the ascendancy of Sheibáni Khan in Máwerannaher and Khorásán, — of their escapes, adventures, successes, and discomfitures, — let us more into the condition of the country and feelings of the inhabitants of these states and of Káshghar at that crisis, than perhaps any other monument extant. A portion of the last book relates to the history of Káshmír and Hindustán, and the whole work is interspersed with geographical accounts of countries, especially to the east of Máwerannaher, little known in Europe. The rise and fall of several tribes, or associations of tribes, in the desert, are recorded with much clearness and a perfect acquaintance with their external and internal policy. It would form a most valuable accompaniment to the Commentaries of Báber, which it illustrates in every page. The two royal cousins are worthy of each other, and do honour to their age.